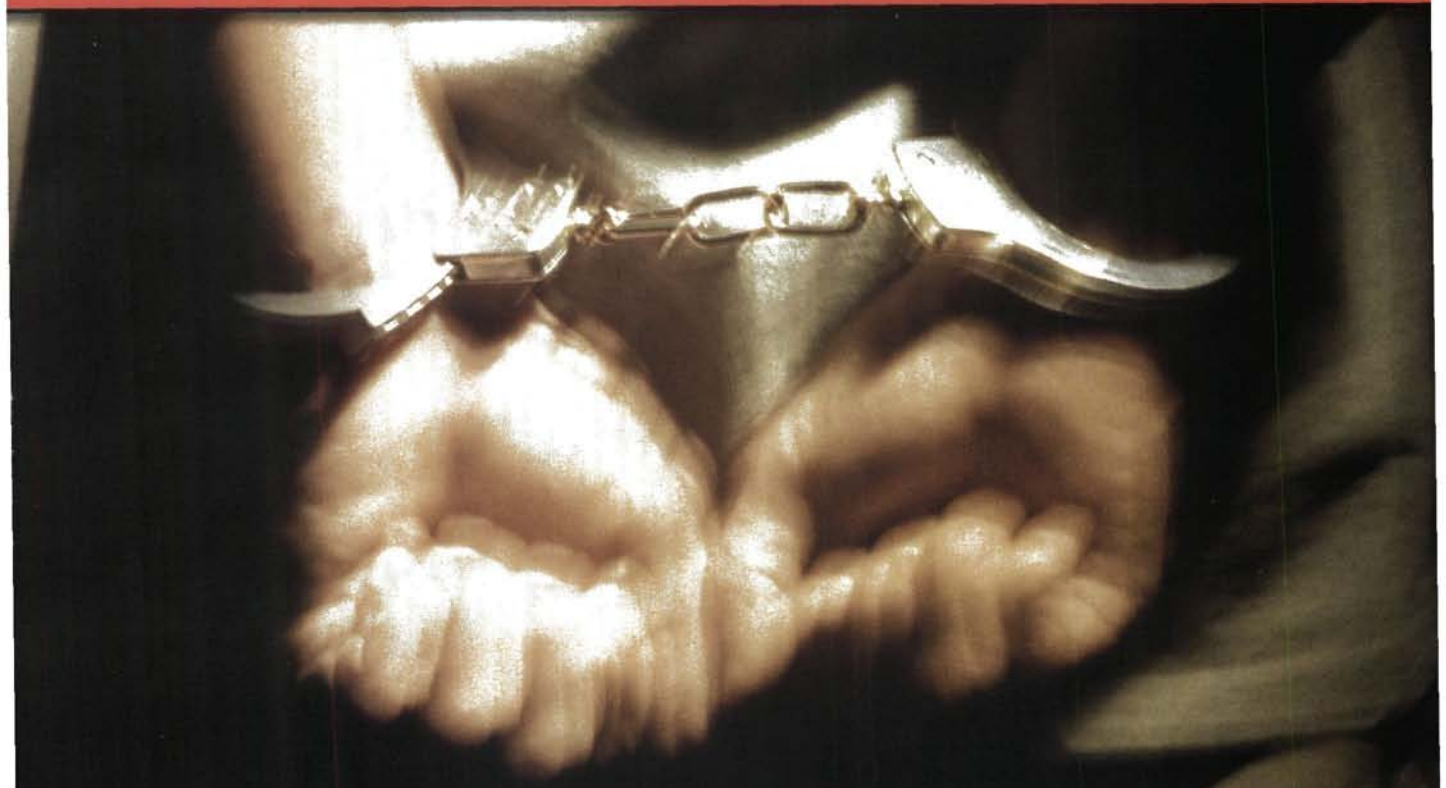
the weekly standard

MAY 16, 2005

$3.95

TONY BLAIR'S LAST HURRAH
WILLIAM KRISTOL • IRWIN M. STELZER



AGAINST RENDITION

WHY THE CIA SHOULDN'T OUTSOURCE INTERROGATIONS TO COUNTRIES THAT TORTURE

REUEL MARC GERECHT

#BXNFMUD *****AUTO**5-DIGIT 94301
#UNZ0555B096 1#302604 WK S458
RON UNZ JUN 19 06
555 BRYANT ST 371
PALO ALTO CA 94301-1704

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WE COULD SAVE BILLIONS IN HEALTHCARE COSTS IF WE COULD JUST GET AMERICANS ON THEIR FEET.

Walking 10,000 steps a day can help Americans lose weight, lower their cholesterol and reduce the risk of heart attack. Tackling preventable health problems not only saves lives, it could save the healthcare system up to $77 billion a year.

That's why BlueCross and BlueShield Plans launched WalkingWorks℠ – to encourage people to simply add steps to their daily routines.

It's not brain surgery. Just another easy way to help keep healthcare affordable.

To find out more about our WalkingWorks℠ program, visit walkingworks.com.

BlueCross BlueShield Association
An Association of Independent Blue Cross and Blue Shield Plans

Healthcare. Affordable. Now.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Contents

May 16, 2005 • Volume 10, Number 33

2 Scrapbook ..... *Airport security dreck, J-Lo, and more.*

4 Casual ..... *Michael Goldfarb, Philly boy.*

6 Correspondence... *On the new pope, Victor Borge, etc.*

11 Editorial ..... *An Electoral Trifecta*

Articles

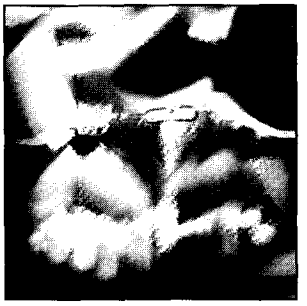
12 Operation Overreach *The downside of big-government conservatism*..... BY ANDREW FERGUSON

14 The Evil of Two Lessers *Voters in Los Angeles face an unscintillating choice.* ..... BY DAVID DEVOSS

16 Emanuel in Washington *He's raising the cash, but can he get the votes?*..... BY RACHEL DICARLO

17 Kofi Annan's Nemesis *Focusing on U.N. corruption, Norm Coleman has made a name for himself.* .. BY DUNCAN CURRIE

19 Uday's Oil-for-News Program *Was Al Jazeera on the take?*. . BY DAVEED GARTENSTEIN-ROSS & ERICK STAKELBECK



Cover: CORBIS / William Whitehurst

Features

21 Against Rendition

Why the CIA shouldn't outsource interrogations to countries that torture. . . BY REUEL MARC GERECHT

27 Blair's Last Hurrah

America's staunchest ally hangs on to 10 Downing Street..... BY IRWIN M. STELZER

Books & Arts

31 Mary, Quite Contrary *A feminist heroine in the Age of Johnson.* ..... BY CHARLOTTE ALLEN

34 Down Argentine Way *How the wild bulls of the Pampas got into debt.* ..... BY ROBERT WHITCOMB

35 Bob Dole's War *A wounded soldier rebuilds his life*..... BY ARAM BAKSHIAN JR.

37 Hollywood Version *The Third Crusade was never like this.* ..... BY JOHN PODHORETZ

39 THE STANDARD READER..... *Sommers and Satel's* One Nation Under Therapy; *Mark Levin's* Men in Black.

40 Parody..... *Strunkov and Stalin's* Elements of Style.

William Kristol, *Editor* **Fred Barnes,** *Executive Editor*
Richard Starr, Claudia Winkler, *Managing Editors*
David Tell, *Opinion Editor* **Christopher Caldwell, Andrew Ferguson,** *Senior Editors*
Philip Terzian, *Books & Arts Editor* **Stephen F. Hayes, Matt Labash,** *Senior Writers* **Matthew Continetti,** *Staff Writer*
Victorino Matus, David Skinner, *Assistant Managing Editors* **Jonathan V. Last,** *Online Editor* **Rachel DiCarlo,** *Assistant Editor*
Duncan Currie, *Reporter* **Michael Goldfarb,** *Editorial Assistant*
Lev Nisnevitch, *Art Director* **Philip Chalk,** *Production Director*
Lauren Trotta Husted, *Circulation Director* **Tina Winston,** *Finance Director* **Catherine Titus Lowe,** *Publicity Director*
Taybor Cook, Carolyn Wimmer, *Executive Assistants* **Michael Potts,** *Staff Assistant*
Gerard Baker, Max Boot, Joseph Bottum, Tucker Carlson, John J. DiIulio Jr., Noemie Emery, Joseph Epstein, David Frum, David Gelernter, Reuel Marc Gerecht, Brit Hume, Robert Kagan, Charles Krauthammer, Tod Lindberg, P. J. O'Rourke, John Podhoretz, Irwin M. Stelzer, *Contributing Editors*
Terry Eastland, *Publisher*

the weekly Standard

THE WEEKLY STANDARD (ISSN 1083-3013) is published weekly (except the first week in January, third week in April, second week in July, fourth week in August, and the second week in November) by News America Incorporated, 1211 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10036. Periodicals postage paid at New York, NY, and additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to THE WEEKLY STANDARD, P.O. Box 96127, Washington, DC 20077-7767. For subscription customer service in the United States, call 1-800-274-7293. For new subscription orders, please call 1-800-283-2014. Subscribers: Please send new subscription orders to THE WEEKLY STANDARD, P.O. Box 96153, Washington, DC 20090-6153; changes of address to THE WEEKLY STANDARD, P.O. Box 96127, Washington, DC 20077-7767. Please include your latest magazine mailing label. Allow 3 to 5 weeks for arrival of first copy and address changes. Yearly subscriptions, $78.00. Canadian/foreign orders require additional postage and must be paid in full prior to commencement of service. Canadian/foreign subscribers may call 1-902-563-4723 for subscription inquiries. Visa/MasterCard payment accepted. Cover price, $3.95. Back issues, $3.95 (includes postage and handling). Send letters to the editor to THE WEEKLY STANDARD, 1150 17th Street, N.W., Suite 505, Washington, DC 20036-4617. For a copy of THE WEEKLY STANDARD Privacy Policy, visit www.weeklystandard.com or write to Customer Service, THE WEEKLY STANDARD, 1150 17th St., NW, Suite 505, Washington, D.C. 20036. Copyright 2005, News America Incorporated. All rights reserved. No material in THE WEEKLY STANDARD may be reprinted without permission of the copyright owner. THE WEEKLY STANDARD is a trademark of News America Incorporated.

BPA INTERNATIONAL

www.weeklystandard.com

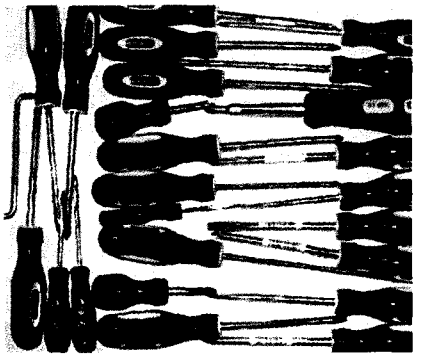
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Finally, a Profit Center in the War on Terror

We were fascinated to learn last week, thanks to the excellent "Division of Labour" blog (*divisionoflabour.com*), what the Transportation Security Administration does with all those Swiss Army knives and nail clippers it collects from careless airline passengers who forget to stow the sharp objects in their checked luggage. Same thing THE SCRAPBOOK would do if it had several tons of scissors: Sell them on eBay. (More specifically, TSA gives the booty to the states; the items shown on this page, for instance, were being liquidated by Pennsylvania's surplus property division.)

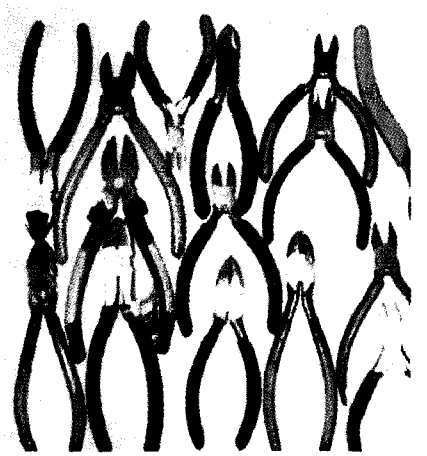
Pictured here are just a few of the dozens of such auctions that were nearing completion on eBay last Friday, May 6. (And no, we don't want to dwell for too long on the ins and outs of the market for used nail clippers, either, although we can tell you that it seems to range from $1.50 to $2.00 per pound.)

We're always gratified to see a glint of entrepreneurial spirit in the depths of the bureaucracy, but our heart on this issue is still with former Nebraska senator Bob Kerrey, who once told the *New York Sun*: "They take away our knives, they take away sharp objects. They probably should issue knives to everybody. [That would increase] our chance that we're going to be able to put down somebody who tries to take a plane with a box cutter." ♦



24 pc. Stanley screwdriver set

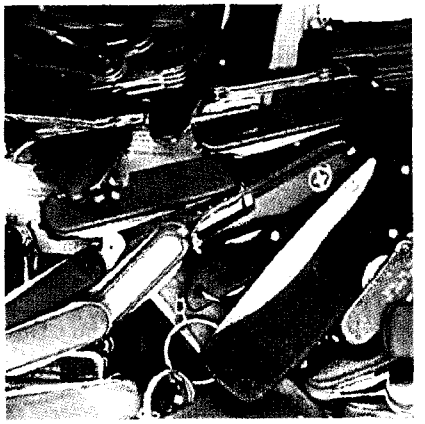
40 pounds assorted nail clippers



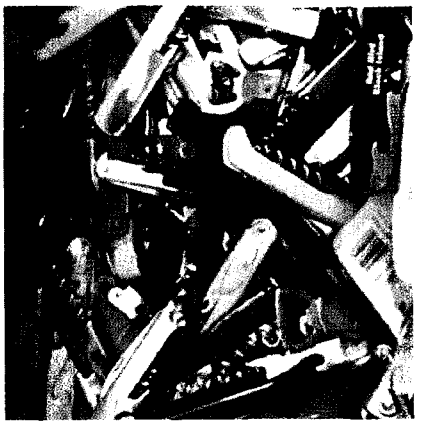
20 pc. side/end cutters, wire cutters

10 larger confiscated Victorinox knives

35 pounds plastic-handled scissors

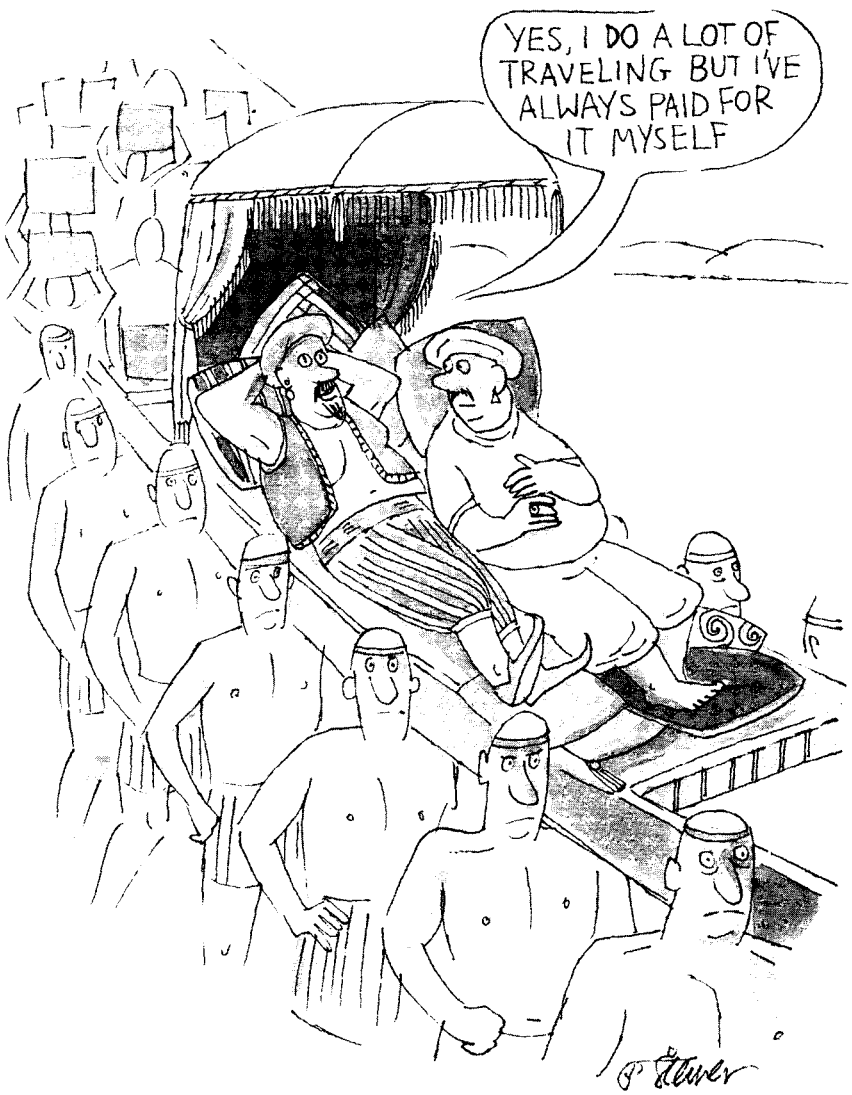


40 pounds assorted pocket knives



50 pounds corkscrew bottle openers

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



The J-Lo Administration?

In late-breaking celebrity news, the German magazine *Bravo* reports that publicity parasite Jennifer Lopez, aka J-Lo (or J-Ho to her former husbands), has decided she's ready to take her career to the next level. "I'm a total powerhouse," said the demure Jenny, who hails from The Block. "If you ask me, I'd like to become the first female president—that would be really cool."

THE SCRAPBOOK couldn't agree more. We think Lopez already possesses several of the characteristics that best equip one to be president. She is tough-minded (when asked recently what she thought of anti-fur protesters, she said, "I don't"). She is intellectually engaged (when asked what she got on her SAT, she said "nail polish"). And she is optimistic even in the face of impending disaster, as in her prediction that her third marriage—to Latin crooner/Ben-Affleck rebound Marc Anthony—will be the one to last.

How would she govern? "The first thing I would do is redecorate the White House," she said. "It doesn't look very cozy." While not specifying how she'd go about this, we have an idea, based on her dressing-room demands, as spelled out in a contract obtained by *thesmokinggun.com*.

The good news is, her taste already matches the outdoor paint job. For her performances, she stipulates that she must have a white room, white lilies, white roses, white tables/tablecloths, white drapes, white candles, and white couches. This in addition to her VCR, her three different flavors of Snapple, her four different brands of candles, her 11 different varieties of fruits and desserts, and lots more. Not very J-Lo-maintenance, if you ask us, but then what president ever is? ♦

Alexis de Clinton

And now a trip down SCRAPBOOK Memory Lane. As faithful readers recall, it has long been the ambition of this page to rid the world of the scourge of fake Tocqueville. Nearly 10 years ago in this magazine, Claremont McKenna professor John J. Pitney Jr. called attention to the most overused bogus quote in American politics: the platitude, falsely attributed to Alexis de Tocqueville, that "America is great because America is good, and if America ever ceases to be good, she will cease to be great." If we may recycle our past discourse on the subject, "The list of politicos who have deployed the quote is long and bipartisan, but the abuse of Fake Tocqueville reached its peak during the administration of Bill Clinton, whose use of it was, like so much else in his life, promiscuous."

Retirement, alas, has proved no remedy. According to a *Lancasteronline.com* account of his address to the Lancaster, Pa., Chamber of Commerce, the former president is also a recycler: "Quoting French statesman Alexis de Tocqueville, Clinton said, 'America is great because she is good.'" ♦

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Casual

The Case for the Draught

Philadelphia may be the City of Brotherly Love, home of Rocky, and birthplace of the nation, but its greatest accomplishment in my book is producing the nation's finest beer, the Yuengling Lager (you pronounce that YING-Ling—no relation to Ling-Ling, late of the National Zoo). Of course, the city is also known the world over for its cheesesteak, a sandwich of thinly sliced rib-eye steak, melted cheese (preferably "whiz," a staple of the native cuisine), mushrooms, and onions, all on an Amoroso's roll. But given the choice between a "whiz with" from Pat's King of Steaks and a room-temperature bottle of lager (in Philadelphia there is only one lager) . . . well, a man can go much longer without food than drink.

It is only with the greatest deference to Pat's that I say this. The fact is, Philadelphia has long been plagued by sectarian division. Although no scientific survey has been taken, it is my belief that a majority of the citizenry have sworn allegiance to Pat's King of Steaks, though a sizable minority of apostates frequent Geno's, a lesser establishment across the intersection at 9th and Wharton Streets in South Philadelphia. Just one thing transcends this culinary divide: the lager of D.G. Yuengling and Son. Sure, we all rally round the Eagles every winter, but the tie that binds in Philly is the cold, frothy brew from Pottsville. The Delaware Valley's deep and abiding love of beer should come as no surprise, as it was Philadelphia's greatest, Benjamin Franklin, who famously declared beer to be "living proof that God loves us and wants us to be happy."

The story of Yuengling is unique. It is the nation's oldest continuously operated brewery. Founded in 1829, it survived Prohibition and the collapse of most of its peers in the 1960s and 1970s, and today remains owned and operated by D.G. Yuengling's heirs. The lager itself, though not brewed continuously since 1829, is made from an ancient recipe that Dick Yuengling revived in the 1980s. It is amber in color, with a rich flavor and extremely smooth texture—unpretentious and yet utterly refined. Perhaps it's the combination of tradition, quality, and affordability (a case of the stuff goes for no more than $16 in Philly) that has turned so many of its customers into partisans.

Beer drinkers, like smokers, tend to be loyal customers, and brand loyalty is, of course, exactly what a brewer seeks to instill in its clientele. Budweiser claims to be the "King of Beers," but, as a number of clever Miller ads recently pointed out, Americans are not fond of monarchy. Miller's counterclaim to be the "President of Beers," however, was ill-conceived. Budweiser noted Miller's South African ownership—foreigners can't even *run* for president. Coors is another mega-brewery, but I'll let you in on a dirty little secret about Coors that the twins won't tell you. As Lee Buxton, Coors's head of marketing, explains, "The heart of Coors Light marketing is to communicate that in every bottle, can, and glass of Coors Light is the taste of Rocky Mountain cold refreshment." That other taste might be the Rocky Flats Superfund nuclear waste site, where tons of plutonium sit "in liquid form, contained in deteriorating piping systems"—says the EPA—just a few miles away from the Coors brewery in Golden, Colorado.

As I said, we're partisans, but with good reason. Boasting a proud tradition and a scrappy, underdog mentality—like the Italian Stallion himself, you might say—Yuengling doesn't have customers, it has fans. You won't see much advertising from the brewery—a few billboards on the Schuylkill Expressway running through Philly is about the extent of it—because word of mouth, the holy grail of marketing, has been the brewery's main engine of growth. The same loyalty that the city shows for its perennial loser sports teams (I know Donovan will lead us to the Promised Land next year) it also shows for its favorite beer.

The Philadelphia diaspora has helped Yuengling expand as far south as Florida and as far north as New England. Just the other day the *New York Times Magazine* ran a profile of the company and its proprietor entitled "Little Giant."

Now Yuengling is even flowing west, and Philadelphia has cause to rejoice. Yuengling's expanding horizons represent a rare triumph for a city with few cultural exports since 1787. Despite the efforts of many to faithfully reproduce the city's famous cheesesteak in restaurants and pizzerias the world over, no one, by all accounts, has yet succeeded. But perhaps this humble brew, with its proud tradition and loyal drinkers, will unite a nation as it did a city. Our rallying cry: "Yo, another round of lager over here!"

Michael Goldfarb

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I'm one in a million. Everyday nearly 1,000,000 Americans earn their living helping GM build and sell cars in the United States. I'm one of them. My name is Birnes Penix and I'm a team leader in paint at the Malibu assembly plant in Fairfax, Kansas. To me and my family, it's the most important job in America.

Birnes L. Penix Sr.

DRIVING AMERICA'S ECONOMY

Only GM

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Benedict's Challenge

In a generally insightful piece about the new Pope Benedict XVI ("The Last European Pope?" May 2), Joseph Bottum makes a glaring assertion for which he offers no evidence. He writes that the new pope will "stand somewhere to the left of his predecessor" on social and economic issues. According to Bottum, Benedict is "a Social Democrat, after all, from Germany, where they always thought they were going to find a way to split the difference between communism and capitalism."

When I mentioned this contention to a group of German friends who came to Rome for the pope's installation Mass, they burst out laughing, so absurd was the idea to them as Germans.

The first thing obvious to any serious reader of the former cardinal's writings on political and socioeconomic questions is his insistence that the Christian gospel not be reduced to a partisan agenda. This insistence, in fact, formed the gravamen of his argument against liberation theology and its attempt to baptize Marxist social analysis.

A second aspect of Benedict's thought is his critique of utopian/socialist economics, which shows him to be very much in line with John Paul II's writings. (As prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, Ratzinger would have reviewed *Centesimus Annus*.) I offer this one example from his 1986 article in the journal *Communio*:

"A morality that believes itself able to dispense with the technical knowledge of economic laws is not morality but moralism. . . . A scientific approach that believes itself capable of managing without an ethos misunderstands the reality of man. . . . Today we need a maximum of specialized economic understanding, but also a maximum of ethos so that the specialized economic understanding may enter the service of the right goals."

Rev. Robert Sirico
President, Acton Institute
Grand Rapids, MI

Joseph Bottum writes that Western Europe has "aborted and contracepted its birthrate down toward demographic disaster."

This happens not to be true. In fact, abortion rates in the more secular western and northern countries of Europe are far lower than in the United States. The more heavily Catholic nations of eastern and southern Europe, on the other hand, experience much higher abortion rates than does America.

Contraception use is also much more widespread in the United States than it is in Europe. Just over 75 percent of American women use contraception in a given year, while only two-thirds of European women do. Whatever the cause of Europe's declining fertility, Bottum is factually wrong to blame any radical embrace of abortion and contraception, at least in Europe's secular west and north.

Further, Europe still has overtly Christian political parties, and those parties are more popular in Europe than would be conceivable in the United States.

And perhaps that is the problem. The Enlightenment that Bottum laments as a philosophical disaster for Christianity achieved its greatest acceptance in post-revolutionary America. Early in our republican history, Americans got the churches out of government—mostly because doing so was the only effective way to keep the government out of the churches. By creating a secular republic, America's Enlightenment revolutionaries gave Christianity its best opportunity to flourish in 1,500 years.

American Christianity has always been an outsider to government. Congregations of the devout have often acted together to influence politics in the United States, but never in a manner that so tangled church and state that the inevitable failures of the latter bred popular resentment of the former.

But time and again in Europe, where Christian Democracy remains the continent's most influential political movement, the longstanding entanglement of church and state has led Europeans to reject both. Who can blame them? Most modern European states were born in cruel religious wars—which often resulted from resistance to Catholic tyranny.

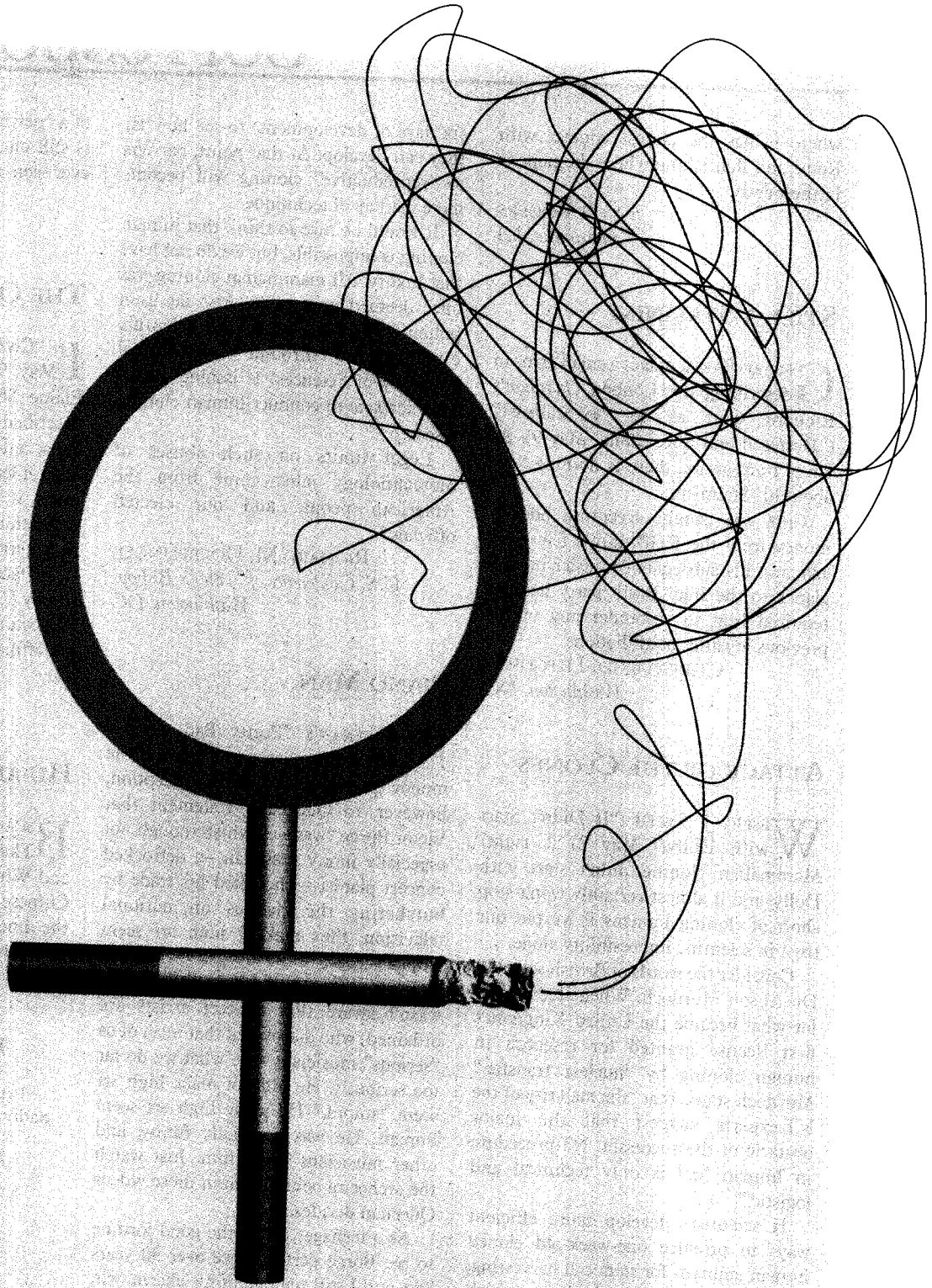
A century ago, Europe was a devout and congregationally heterogeneous continent, planted thick with well-attended churches, much like the United States today. And then Europe suffered just about the worst hundred years in the history of mankind. Christianity in general, and the Catholic Church in particular, proved worse than impotent when Europe's suffering millions cried out for help in the first half of the 20th century. Only in the closing years of that dreadful epoch, under John Paul II, did the Catholic Church offer Europe's oppressed millions the succor they required.

Despite the shockingly high rates of abortion and contraception in devout Eastern Europe, people in that part of the continent see the Catholic Church as a mighty force for good. People in the rest of Europe know only an older experience of neglect or worse from Christian authorities. Europeans had abandoned the Enlightenment generations before they abandoned organized Christianity, and the latter break was not a whimsical or nihilistic choice.

The challenge facing Pope Benedict XVI is not arguing with western Europeans to come back to his Church. It is demonstrating to them that his Church has become something better than the morally irrelevant institution their grandparents abandoned.

Can the new pope do that? Possibly. The Catholic Church is a better, holier institution now than formerly. But any pope who follows Bottum's reasoning will find his papacy ending as it began—with Christianity of the Latin Rite failing

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

where it has the closest contact with Rome and flourishing where the pope is farthest away.

SCOTT ROGERS
Alexandria, VA

STILL A STALINIST

GERARD BAKER makes a small error in describing the London *Guardian*'s Richard Gott as an "ex-Stalinist" ("Despised and Successful," May 9). As far as I am aware, there is nothing "ex" about his Stalinism.

Gott was caught accepting pocket-money from the KGB only a few years ago, and his subsequent transfer of allegiance to the Iraqi Baath party has not required him to surrender any of his previous loyalties or affiliations.

CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS
Washington, DC

ATTACK OF THE CLONES

WESLEY J. SMITH ("It Didn't Start with Dolly," May 2) is right: Mammalian cloning didn't start with Dolly, and it almost certainly won't stop short of cloning humans if we put our trust in scientific impossibility alone.

Consider the words of British scientist Dr. Alison Murdoch. When she applied for what became the United Kingdom's first license granted for research in human cloning by "nuclear transfer," Murdoch stated that "the majority of the NT-experts suggest that the major obstacle of the successful NT-procedure in human [*sic*] is only technical and logistic."

If scientists develop more efficient ways to produce one-week-old cloned human embryos for stem cell harvesting, they will be producing embryos which can be placed in human or animal wombs (the usual time of implantation being at six days of development) to see how far they can develop. At that point, barriers to "reproductive" cloning will become mere matters of technique.

It would be nice to think that human cloning is impossible, but we do not have that luxury. All mammalian cloning was once deemed impossible. And far from policing its own ranks, the scientific establishment (through the National Academy of Sciences) is issuing guidelines for *how* to conduct human cloning research.

Legal limits on such abuses of biotechnology must come from the American people and our elected officials.

RICHARD M. DOERFLINGER
U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops
Washington, DC

PIANO MAN

JOE QUEENAN'S "Pretty Bad Goods" (May 2) is, in most ways, right on the money (pun intended). I take exception, however, to Queenan's statement that Victor Borge "was a clownish though not especially funny musician—a defrocked concert pianist—who plied his trade by butchering the classics on national television, thus making high art seem stupid."

Borge was a superlative pianist (I wasn't aware that concert artists are ordained) who discovered that most of us "serious" musicians take what we do far too seriously. He did not make high art seem "stupid." He made high art seem human. He was especially funny, and other musicians loved him. Just watch the orchestra behind him in those videos Queenan derides.

As a teenager, I had the good fortune to see Borge perform live over 30 years ago, and I still remember his charm, wit, and musicality. Many years later, I saw him on TV doing his one-man rendition of a "newly discovered Mozart opera." It is still one of the funniest things I have ever seen, and probably ever will see.

MICHAEL SHAHANI
Walnut Creek, CA

THE OTHER PRINCETON

IN "Civilization and Its Malcontents" (May 9), Joseph Epstein writes of Elaine Showalter: "She has also been described . . . as 'Camille Paglia with balls,' a description meant approbatively, or so at least Princeton must feel, for they print it on *princetoninfo.com*, a stark indication of the tone currently reigning in American universities."

In fact, *princetoninfo.com* is a website run by *U.S. 1*, a weekly newspaper for the Princeton, New Jersey, community. It is not affiliated with Princeton University.

SARA MAYEUX
Princeton, NJ

HU ARE YOU?

BECAUSE OF a translation snafu, John J. Tkacik's "Hu, What, Wen, Where, and Why" (May 9) misstated the age of Chinese president Hu Jintao's father at the time of his death in 1978. Hu Jingzhi was in his late 50s when he passed away.

• • •

THE WEEKLY STANDARD
welcomes letters to the editor.
Letters will be edited for length and clarity and must include the writer's name, address, and phone number.
All letters should be addressed:
Correspondence Editor
THE WEEKLY STANDARD
1150 17th St., NW, Suite 505
Washington, DC 20036.

You may also fax letters: (202) 293-4901
or email: editor@weeklystandard.com.

Advertising Sales

Peter Dunn, *Associate Publisher, pdunn@weeklystandard.com 202-496-3334*
Nicholas H.B. Swezey, *Advertising & Marketing Manager, nswezey@weeklystandard.com 202-496-3355*
Magali Bontrand, *Foreign Country Reports, magali@us-impact.com +44(0)-870-758-7809*
Patrick F. Doyle, *West Coast Advertising Manager, pdoyle@weeklystandard.com 415-777-4383*
Don Eugenio, *Midwest Advertising Manager, deugenio@weeklystandard.com 312-953-7236*
Meghan Hawthorne, *Advertising & Marketing Assistant, mhawthorne@weeklystandard.com 202-496-3350*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

[LAYERS OF PROTECTION]

VISA SECURITY PROGRAM

CONTINUOUS MONITORING | I.D. THEFT ASSISTANCE | VERIFIED by VISA | ZERO LIABILITY | 3-DIGIT CODE

[LAYERS OF SECURITY]

A MULTI-LAYERED APPROACH TO PAYMENT CARD SECURITY.

Visa has many ways of protecting your card. Like Verified by Visa, a service that gives consumers and merchants a way to confirm your identity online and help reduce fraud. Or continuous monitoring, which uses sophisticated technology to help detect suspicious or unusual activity on cards before fraud occurs. And if your card is fraudulently used to make purchases, you will not be held financially responsible. Visa will also provide identity theft victims access to assistance. It all adds up to protection. Layer upon layer of it.

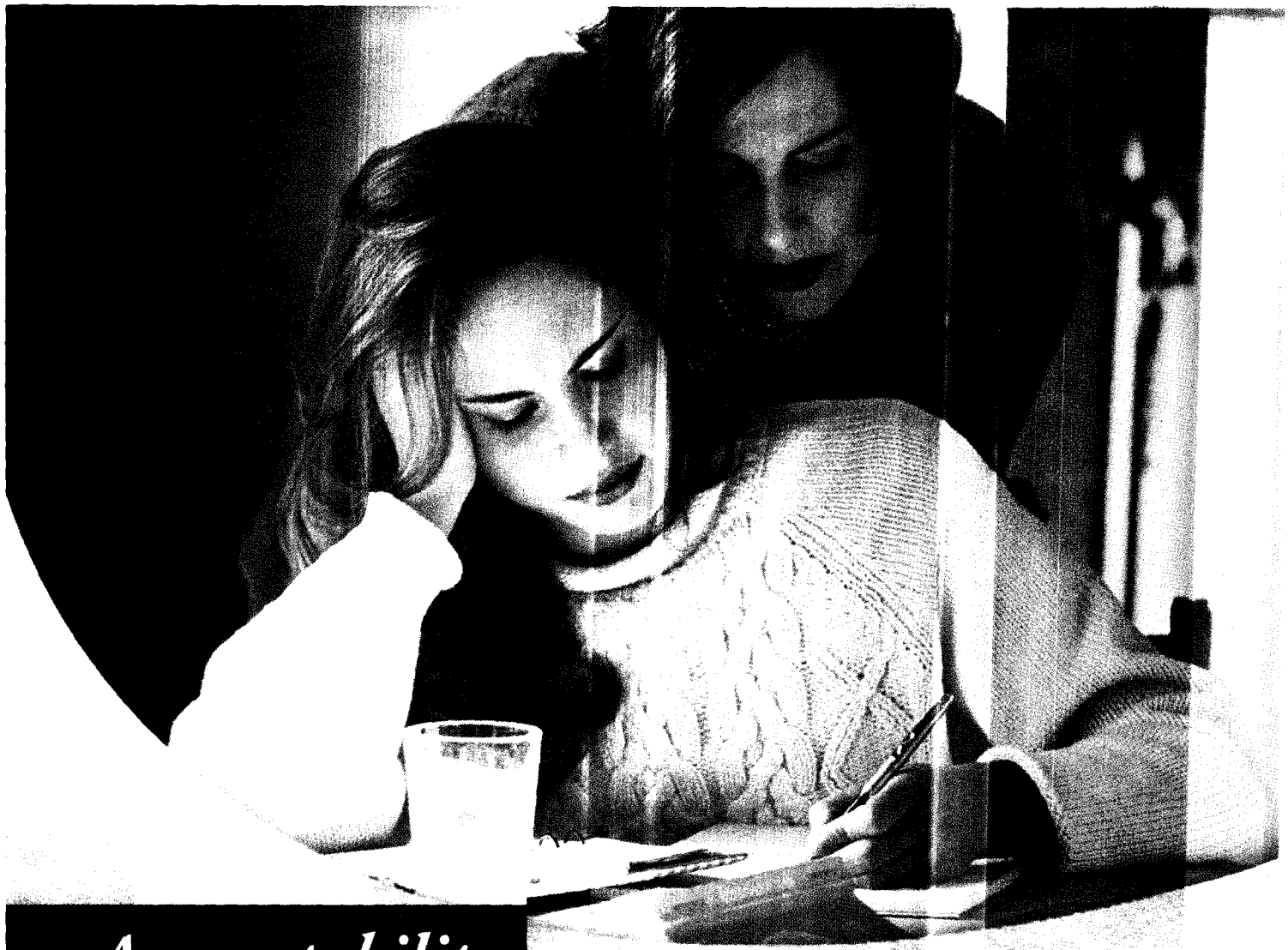
VISA

VISA.COM/SECURITY

Covers U.S. issued cards only. Visa's Zero Liability Policy does not apply to commercial card or ATM transactions, or to PIN transactions not processed by Visa. Notify your financial institution immediately of any fraudulent use. Verified by Visa is not available with all cards and requires online activation and use at a participating online merchant. For additional restrictions, limitations, and information relating to Visa security features, see your cardholder agreement and go to visa.com/security.

©2005 Visa U.S.A. Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Accountability

Parents have made one thing clear in the last few years. They want their children to learn, and they're going to hold the entire education system accountable to make sure they do.

ETS is a partner with parents and teachers to advance learning. To make sure teachers have the tools and training they need. To help parents be certain their kids are prepared for what lies ahead.

Helping teachers teach, students learn and parents measure the progress of their children is what accountability is all about. At ETS we hold ourselves accountable for helping every learner do better. Every product we make, every service we offer, every test we design is built on that commitment.

ETS. Helping prepare each new generation for whatever the future may hold. Log on. Let's talk about how we all accomplish that goal.

Listening. Learning. Leading.

ETS®

www.ets.org EDUCATIONAL TESTING SERVICE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the weekly Standard

An Electoral Trifecta

So it turns out Madrid was the exception, not the rule. On March 14, 2004, the party of Spanish prime minister José María Aznar was defeated at the polls after an al Qaeda attack in Madrid and after a campaign in which the opposition fiercely criticized Aznar for Spain's involvement in the war to remove Saddam Hussein. In the wake of its electoral victory, the new leftist government withdrew Spain's troops from Iraq.

The question, a year ago, was this: Was Spain a harbinger of electoral defeat for the other democratic leaders of the war to liberate Iraq? Some hoped it would be, and have been severely disappointed. President Bush did not flinch in Iraq and was reelected with a stronger showing than four years before. Australia's John Howard, a steadfast supporter of the war in Iraq, was reelected to a historic fourth term as prime minister with an increased majority. And last week Britain's Tony Blair won a third term, the first Labour prime minister ever to do so.

Blair won with a diminished majority, to be sure. Yet the main opposition party, the Tories, supported the war as well. So roughly 68 percent of the British electorate voted for parties with pro-war leaders. The Liberal Democrats, critics of the war who pledged a quick withdrawal from Iraq, did increase their vote by about 4 percentage points, but still received only 22 percent of the vote.

The electorates of the major democracies—at least the English-speaking ones—have thus shown a willingness to support the leaders who took them to war. This despite the fact that no operational weapons of mass destruction were found, and despite the difficulties of the last couple of years in Iraq. In the cases of Howard and Bush, the victories were particularly impressive since they preceded the remarkable January 30 elections in Iraq and subsequent positive political developments there and elsewhere in the Middle East.

What is striking about the British campaign is that no one vigorously argued the case that the war was justified. Blair thought it to be in his interest simply to stipulate that there had been disagreement about Iraq, but that it was now time to move on. This was understandable given the problem his pro-war policy created within his own party. But the result, when combined with the Conservatives' assault on Blair's honesty in making the case for war, was that no one in the general election campaign reiterated the argument for the war. As William Shawcross pointed out, "listening to the tone of the debate, you would think that there were no Iraqis out there, and that 'Iraq' was merely a code word for some appalling new kind of politically incorrect abuse." Whatever effect this had on the election results, it probably does have the unfortunate implication that any future British government, whether under Blair or his likely successor Gordon Brown, will hesitate to be as bold and as staunch an ally as Blair was with respect to Iraq.

But British policy over the next few years will not be decisive in making the world a safer or more dangerous place; U.S. policy will be. In this respect, the more worrying result last week was not the British election but a *USA Today* survey of Americans. Only 41 percent of Americans now say "it was worth going to war in Iraq"; 57 percent say it was not. This is down from 73 percent who said the war was worth it when Saddam's regime fell in 2003, and 48 percent who said the war had been worth fighting in February.

The decline from 2003 is understandable, but the decline since February is puzzling. After all, despite the continued violence in Iraq, developments over the last three months have been quite positive. What has changed? Perhaps most striking has been the silence of the Bush administration in explaining the significance of the developments in Iraq and in the Middle East, and more broadly in explaining the degree to which we are making progress toward the president's vision of a foothold for democracy in the Middle East.

The Bush administration has much more to do in the Middle East and the world over the next three and a half years. The administration does not have to keep making the case for its foreign policy at the same pitch it did during the campaign or during the dramatic weeks before and after the Iraqi election. But it cannot simply go silent and expect to have popular support for controversial and difficult decisions—whether diplomatic, economic, or military—with respect to Syria, Iran, North Korea, or other parts of the world. Ultimately, George W. Bush's presidency will be judged by the success of his foreign policy. That success requires not just sound decision-making at the top but domestic understanding and support. It might be a good time for the administration to reengage the public for the sake of refreshing that understanding and rebuilding that support.

—*William Kristol*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Operation Overreach

The downside of big-government conservatism.

BY ANDREW FERGUSON

LAURA BUSH delivered a lot of jokes during her now-famous stand-up routine at the White House Correspondents' Dinner, but one of them touched a real sore spot. Not the joke about milking the horse. This one: "I said to him the other day, 'George, if you really want to end tyranny in the world, you're going to have to stay up later.'" When the joke was replayed over and over again on TV, a cry rose up from every corner of this sweet and verdant land: "No, no, George, don't stay up later! You just go on to bed! You're doing too much already! Really!"

Or maybe that was just me. In any case, Mrs. Bush's joke points to something important in our present political moment, four very busy months into her husband's very busy second term. It even sheds light on those discouraging poll numbers that have lately troubled all the president's men and his publicists in the press. The president himself, of course, pays no attention to polls.

And a good thing, too, because Bush's job approval ratings are now at the lowest point of his time in office—down to 47 percent in the latest *Washington Post* poll, 48 percent in *USA Today*'s. In the *Post* poll, the number of people who "strongly approve" of his job performance, which for most of the last four years has roughly matched the percentage of people who "strongly disapprove," has fallen to 25 percent, while the strong disapprovers have surged to 38 percent.

A solid majority, 56 percent, approve of Bush's handling of the "U.S. campaign against terrorism." From there, the numbers head south. Only 42 percent approve the way Bush has conducted the Iraq war, and 54 percent now say they believe the war should never have been fought. Forty percent approve his handling of the economy. With gas prices high, approval of Bush's energy policy is low: 35 percent. Even lower, though, is the percentage approving Bush's signature domestic initiative: 31 percent approve, and 64 percent disapprove, of the president's handling of Social Security.

These gloomy data follow the Terri Schiavo affair, when very large majorities—up to 70 percent in some polls—expressed their distaste for the effort by Bush and congressional Republicans to encourage federal courts to take up her case.

Scanning the poll numbers, Dean David Broder of the *Washington Post* announced that Bush is the victim of "overreach." John Podhoretz, in the *New York Post*, came up with a better tag and got closer to the nub. The public, he wrote, may be suffering from "Issue Fatigue"—an overload of public policy proposals and the politicking that goes with them. "While [Bush] refused to allow himself to rest after the 2004 election," Podhoretz wrote, "the American people seem to have desperately wanted a break." Both Podhoretz and the Dean are on to something, but what if they don't go far enough? Bush's problem may be more elemental. Overreach, and the resulting fatigue of the public, may be the inevitable consequences of the way Bush approaches his job—it might, in other words, be built into his governing philosophy.

That philosophy has become known, with appropriate clumsiness, as "big government conservatism," and its intricacies, such as they are, have been laid out with customary self-congratulation by one White House triumphalist after another, most recently by Karl Rove in a speech to the Conservative Political Action Conference. "We are seizing the mantle of idealism," Rove said. A lot of this idealism is vague and cottony in the Clinton manner, with empty, harmless vows to "foster" a "culture of service" in a "new generation," and so on.

But a lot of it requires tremendous amounts of mobilization and hectoring. In foreign affairs, of course, there is the president's spectacular pledge to end tyranny in our world, which has entailed two wars so far. Domestically, Rove said, the president's idealism has targeted "the tax code, health care, pension plans, legal system, public education, worker training," and, he threatened, even more. In the old days, conservatism was "largely reactionary," Rove noted. Under Bush, on the other hand, conservatives have become "agents of reform," just as liberals used to be. And if we have to stay up late to fix America, fine.

The president's plan to redo Social Security is the opening salvo in this campaign to transform the institutions of American society. The difficulties he has encountered in persuading the public to go along with him might strike a prudent man as a warning that he's pushing things a little too far. But prudence—like caution, diffidence, a sense of limits—was a quality that distinguished yesterday's conservatism, not today's. Agents of reform move in one direction only. So rather than withdraw his attempt at "modernizing" Social Security, the president and his men have responded by making their reform more complicated. Most recently he's embraced a plan devised by a John Kerry supporter to make the system an even more progressive means of transferring wealth than it already is. And don't forget: The tax system is next. When it comes to con-

---

Andrew Ferguson is a senior editor at THE WEEKLY STANDARD.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

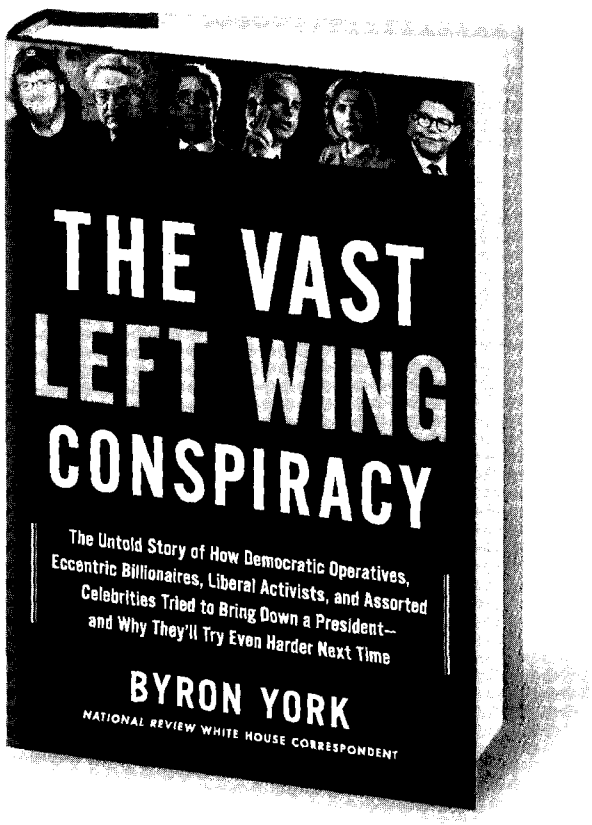
servative reform, reform, not conservatism, is in the driver's seat.

Conservative reform, in fact, turns out to be a lot like liberal reform. Each involves a whirlwind of government activity. Each is a formula for politics without end—splendid indeed for politicians and government employees, but a bit tiring for the rest of us. Who can blame the public for beginning to show its weariness? The fatigue came to a head in the Schiavo case, and the president's poll numbers have yet to recover.

In the view of many people (me included) Bush's intervention in Schiavo's plight was a brave and noble endeavor; he and the Republican Congress had sound and principled reasons for doing what they did. But those reasons never stirred the public. What the public saw instead, apparently, was an army of busybodies from the White House and Congress, prying their thick fingers into a heartbreaking family dispute, and compounding the horror because they refused to control their impulse to set matters right. You don't have to try too hard to imagine the questions that arose in the public mind. Is there nothing these big-government guys won't get involved in? Ending tyranny, democratizing the Middle East, revolutionizing public education, fooling around with my pension, re-doing the tax code from top to bottom—and now they want to second-guess this poor woman's caretakers? Where's the self-restraint? Where's the modesty?

A lack of modesty and self-restraint is one excellent reason Americans grew to despise liberals in the first place. The high-water mark of American liberalism came in 1993 and 1994, when President Clinton and his wife, under the guise of "health care reform," decided they would assume control of one-seventh of the nation's economy in order to make it more rational and fair. Voters responded by handing the federal legislature to the Republican party. History may record that what offended them wasn't liberalism but busybodyism—the endless,

Know thine enemy. They're far more powerful than you imagine.



Following dismal showings in recent elections, the powerbrokers on the Left have built the biggest and richest political movement in American history. Their goal: retake the White House in 2008. In his explosive exposé, Byron York reveals how the movement was built, by:

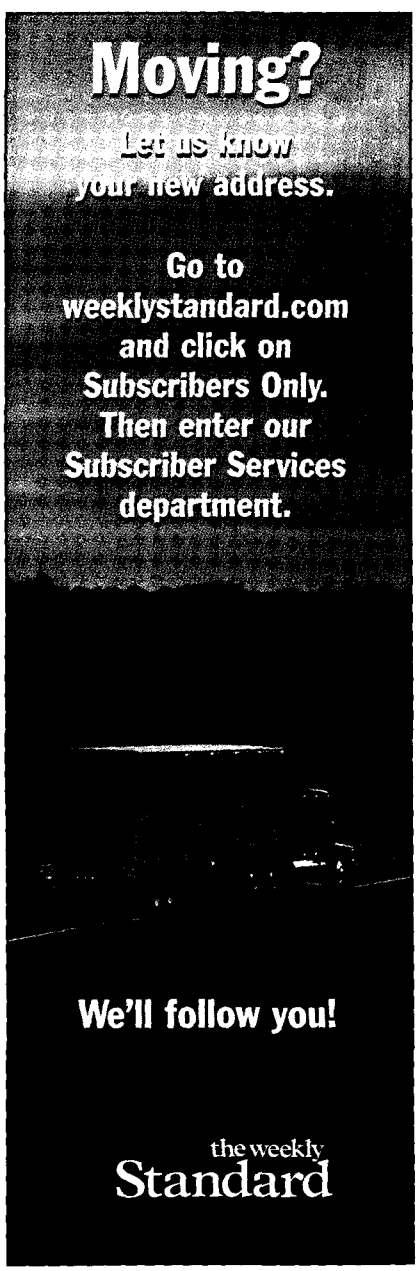
- **Wooing billionaire donor George Soros**
- **Thrusting far-left groups like MoveOn into the mainstream**
- **Raising hundreds of millions of dollars while ignoring the campaign-finance laws they helped pass**
- **And much more**

Wherever books are sold
A member of the Crown Publishing Group • CrownForum.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

frenetic search by elected officials for ever-new ways to make the country more fabulous. Bush and his Republicans are close to proving that busybodyism can become a creature of the right as well as the left.

And the public seems not to like it, whichever direction it comes from. Maybe, under certain circumstances, what people really do want—*pace* Laura Bush—is a president who goes to bed early and wakes up late. Maybe they wouldn't mind a president who spent a lot more time on his ranch, trying to milk the horses instead of us. ♦



The Evil of Two Lessers

Voters in Los Angeles face an unscintillating choice. BY DAVID DEVOSS

Los Angeles

JAMES HAHN and Antonio Villaraigosa are both liberal Democrats beloved by and beholden to labor unions. But as these two veteran candidates enter the final week of the Los Angeles mayoral campaign, ambition has turned them into bitter rivals.

Hahn, the incumbent, calls his challenger "a fancy smile and a fancy suit." Villaraigosa, a former California assemblyman who sits on the city council, says Hahn's leadership has brought L.A. nothing more than "corruption probes and stagnation."

The Midwest has its tractor pulls; southerners love their stock cars. But out here in the blue states, mayoral races are the best show in town. Two men mud-wrestling in $1,200 suits may not sound very interesting—until you realize just how far belligerent trash talk carried the World Wrestling Federation.

In Los Angeles, incumbent mayors almost always win a second term. But Hahn, a political grandee if not a man of the people (he hates having to press flesh at political rallies), is running far behind in a recent *Los Angeles Times* poll. He claims to have built 35 new libraries, empowered neighborhood councils, and begun reforming Los Angeles's onerous municipal business tax. What he neglects to mention is that the library and council improvements stem from initiatives taken by former mayor Richard Riordan, and the only businesses Hahn has been known to help are those that contribute to his political coffers.

David DeVoss is a senior correspondent with the East-West News Service in Los Angeles.

Both the FBI and local district attorneys are investigating multiple "pay to play" scandals involving Hahn appointees to the commissions running L.A.'s harbor, airport, and Department of Water and Power. Hahn's cronies are suspected of making political contributions a prerequisite to being awarded municipal contracts. Two contributors to Hahn's previous mayoral campaign have been charged with money-laundering. A couple of weeks ago, St. Louis-based public relations firm Fleishman-Hillard paid $5.7 million to settle a civil suit accusing it of massive overbilling on a Department of Water and Power contract, during which the firm spent much of its time writing press releases and planning events for the mayor.

"James Hahn may be individually honest, but you have to wonder about the money-laundering, suspected illegality, and claims of corruption that have occurred on his watch," says Jaime Regalado, executive director of the Edmund G. "Pat" Brown Institute of Public Affairs at California State University, Los Angeles. "Hahn's will go down as one of the most mediocre administrations in the history of the city."

Hahn has won six consecutive citywide races during his 23 years in municipal government. But he may not have time to recover before the May 17 runoff. Last month, his campaign was embarrassed by news that Los Angeles had failed to make the short list of cities competing to house California's newly conceived Institute of Regenerative Medicine because his office never completed the necessary paperwork. The stem-cell institute

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

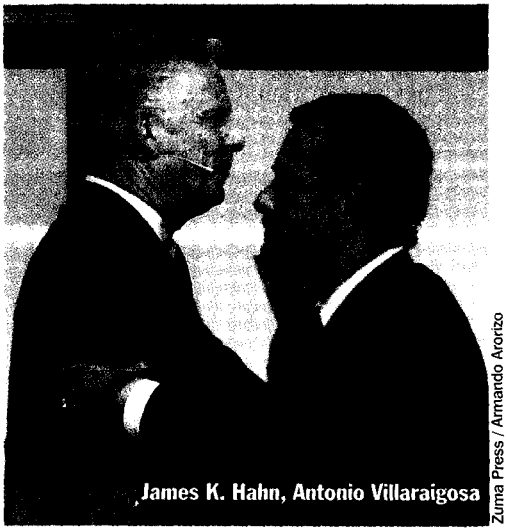
would have brought $3 billion in new jobs and investment to the city. Attempting to regain momentum, Hahn quickly scheduled a ribbon-cutting to celebrate the opening of a regional city hall in the San Fernando Valley. If the ceremony seemed somewhat strained, it was because the event coincided with a *Los Angeles Daily News* disclosure that the building was months behind schedule, 20 percent over budget, and only partially complete.

"We need to have a lean and mean system of doing business here instead of the doofus way we do things now," L.A. city controller Laura Chick told the *News*.

An up-from-the-barrio scrambler who removed a "Born to Raise Hell" tattoo from his right arm when he became a serious politician, Antonio Villaraigosa was on the verge of beating Hahn four years ago when word leaked he had petitioned the Clinton administration in 1996 to pardon a wealthy cocaine dealer. Earlier, Villaraigosa headed the regional office of the ACLU. In that capacity he tried to block an injunction, sought by Los Angeles, prohibiting gang members from congregating in public parks. In a mass mailing paid for by Indian gambling interests, the Hahn campaign combined the two events and denounced Villaraigosa as a gangster-loving liberal unfit to lead the city. The message struck a chord with crime-weary voters, who on Election Day gave Hahn a seven-point margin of victory.

This year Villaraigosa was again cruising to victory with an 18-point lead in the polls. In addition to his Hispanic base in East Los Angeles, he had support from South Central blacks and the Westside Jewish community. Hollywood money was pouring in. Then, in the week he received the Democratic party's formal endorsement, disaster struck with the announcement that L.A.'s district attorney planned an inquiry into $47,000 worth of campaign donations given to Villaraigosa by employees of two Florida companies seeking lucrative concessions at Los Angeles International Airport. Villaraigosa immediately returned the money, but the damage was done. On the day Villaraigosa received John Kerry's imprimatur, Hahn supporters showed up with signs reading "Miami Vice."

L.A.'s mayoral race is on track to become the most expensive political campaign in city history. In order to receive matching funds from the city, Hahn and Villaraigosa both agreed to limit their individual campaign expenditures to $1.8 million. This sum largely consists of contributions of $1,000 or less from individuals and small businesses. But funds spent "independently" by unions, corporations, and other groups seeking to influence the election are not regulated at all.


James K. Hahn, Antonio Villaraigosa

Zuma Press / Armando Arorizo

Four years ago, $1.75 million was spent independently on behalf of the two candidates. This year, unions, property developers, existing contractors, and potential concessionaires already have spent more than $2.6 million, according to L.A.'s Ethics Commission.

The prize contributors hope to purchase is influence over how Los Angeles spends its $5.95 billion budget. Since one of the largest chunks of the budget goes for salaries and pensions, fire, police, teachers', and other municipal unions are major contributors. Their funds underwrite the mass mailings and commercials necessary to reach voters spread across the city's 470 square miles. Corporations seeking lucrative concessions are also generous. The $47,000 Antonio Villaraigosa recently returned to a company called Travel Traders is a paltry sum for a company competing for a monopoly concession at LAX. Last year, the DFS Group, which runs the airport's duty-free shops, had more than $90 million in sales. Airport Management Services, which controls the gift shops and newsstands, reported revenues of $55 million.

Ultimately, however, the election is decided by ordinary voters. Four years ago, Hahn edged out Villaraigosa with support from the San Fernando Valley, an area that contains 36 percent of the city's population but contributes 40 percent of the city's registered voters. The valley may not be as receptive this time around, given the disingenuous tactics Hahn employed to crush its 2002 campaign for cityhood. "A politician can't declare war on his constituents and then come back and ask for their support," says David Fleming, a respected valley civic leader who formerly served on Los Angeles's fire and ethics commissions. "Hahn is an absentee mayor who hasn't kept his promises. The valley will vote against Hahn, not for Antonio."

Ironically, Los Angeles Republicans, who are few but invariably turn out to vote, could decide the race between two liberal Democrats. Would L.A. conservatives really vote for a former director of the ACLU?

"I endorsed James Hahn four years ago, but my disappointment in his values and lack of leadership eventually turned to disgust when weekly reports of scandal were consistently met with implausible denials and silent indifference," says Keith Richman, L.A.'s sole Republican in the California Assembly. "Antonio Villaraigosa was not my first choice for mayor, but he has one very important thing going for him: He is not James Hahn." ♦

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Emanuel in Washington

He's raising the cash, but can he get the votes?

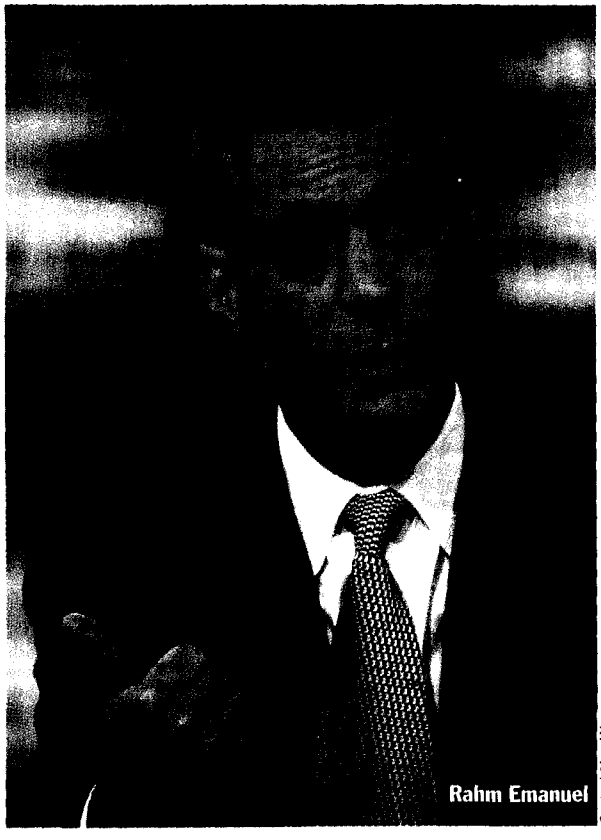
BY RACHEL DICARLO

RAHM EMANUEL, the new head of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, has a familiar name, a knack for fundraising, and a robust agenda for the 2006 House elections. Emanuel made his reputation in the 1990s as a shrewd White House adviser and campaign strategist for President Clinton. He left Washington in 1999 but returned three years later after winning an open House race in Illinois's 5th district.

Since then Emanuel has risen rapidly. He serves on the powerful Ways and Means Committee, and early this year he ascended to DCCC chief. He is focused like a laser on 2006, and is confident Democrats can wrest at least a few House seats from Republicans.

Emanuel's primary activities to that end have been fundraising—he's collected $12.4 million in the past three months—and aggressively recruiting a candidate for every open seat. He's enlisted Maryland congressman Chris Van Hollen to head a committee of eight House members from various regions of the country to encourage potential candidates. Each of the committee's members is responsible for a weekly progress report that he has to turn in to party leadership. "Open seats are priority A," Emanuel says. "They have the most propensity to move from one party to another."

The DCCC will also be looking at congressmen who captured 55 percent of the vote or less last time around. That group includes, most notably, GOP House majority leader Tom DeLay, who garnered exactly 55 percent in November. (In 2002, before his redistricting plan took effect, he got 63 percent of the vote.)



Rahm Emanuel

Getty / Alex Wong

As proof of DeLay's waning popularity, Emanuel cites a recent Zogby poll in the *Houston Chronicle* that shows his approval slipping to around 50 percent in light of reports about trips he took that were allegedly paid for by lobbyist Jack Abramoff. The DCCC has already given its blessing to challenger Nick Lampson, a former five-term congressman who announced on May 4 that he will go up against DeLay next year. "We're running agents of change," Emanuel says.

That doesn't mean Republican incumbents who aren't in leadership positions will be given a pass. DCCC press secretary Sarah Feinberg says her group has a number of targets. She lists Bob Ney of Ohio, Chris Shays of Connecticut, and Dave Reichert of Washington, and says the candidates who take them on will be given priority for resources. "Of course we're looking at those seats," Feinberg says. "We're noticing that these incumbents are more vulnerable than they have ever been before. Many [incumbents] can be tied closely to DeLay."

While it's been widely reported that Emanuel plans to make DeLay—and ethics generally—the theme of the Democrats' 2006 House campaign, he insists that, while these issues will play a part, along with Social Security, prescription drug reimportation, and lobbying reform, they won't be his campaign's centerpiece. But expect the DCCC to float the anti-DeLay/pro-ethics theme and see what kind of traction it gets.

The DCCC is already hard at work bashing DeLay and trying to connect him to as many Republicans as possible. The first thing a viewer sees after logging onto the DCCC website is a front-and-center link called "Tom DeLay's House of Scandal." Click on the link and you can view several other anti-DeLay features like "GOP Crony of the Week" (Ney won this title recently) and "Tom DeLay's Top Defenders." These include Shays (though he called on DeLay to step down last month), Ney, Wisconsin's Paul Ryan, and Florida's Tom Feeney.

Rachel DiCarlo is an assistant editor at THE WEEKLY STANDARD.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

There's also a state-by-state breakdown of every Republican in Congress called "How Tangled Up With DeLay is Your Member?" It cites legislation on which individual members have voted with DeLay. Visitors are invited to write letters to their newspapers to complain about these Republicans.

The DCCC, along with the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee and the Democratic Governors Association, has also been putting together lists of Republicans who have taken money from DeLay or his PACs, and riffling through photo archives to find pictures of Republican members with the majority leader, according to reporters Chris Cillizza and Erin Billings in *Roll Call*.

Republicans, for their part, scoff at the notion that these tactics will have any effect on 2006. They tried to zing the Democrats on ethics back in 1998—as the Monica Lewinsky scandal loomed large—to no effect. The Democrats gained seats in the House and broke even in the Senate. "We tried a campaign on ethics in 1998 and we failed miserably," affirms Carl Forti, top spokesman for the National Republican Congressional Committee. "People were appalled at what went on in the Oval Office, but we couldn't get them to vote against their congressman because of something someone else did. People tend to like their congressman."

Another problem Republicans see with making an issue of DeLay is that folks who live outside the Beltway (besides those in DeLay's district) often don't know who he is and aren't paying much attention to the news stories that involve him. "This stuff doesn't resonate outside Washington," a senior GOP House aide says. "Voters aren't going to vote for Democrats unless they know what they actually stand for. The Democrats are overreaching."

It's too early to reckon the odds of the Democrats' taking the House next year, but to do so, they must improve on their present total by 15 seats. Emanuel doesn't have a forecast. "I don't make predictions," he says, "I just affect races." ♦

Kofi Annan's Nemesis

By focusing on U.N. corruption, Norm Coleman has made a name for himself. BY DUNCAN CURRIE

If the United Nations Oil-for-Food scandal brings down Kofi Annan, historians might fix the start of his fall at December 1, 2004. That's when Minnesota senator Norm Coleman published a blistering *Wall Street Journal* op-ed calling for the secretary general's exit. "As long as Mr. Annan remains in charge," Coleman wrote, "the world will never be able to learn the full extent of the bribes, kickbacks, and under-the-table payments that took place under the U.N.'s collective nose."

Reaction to Coleman's piece was swift. Within days, former U.N. ambassador Richard Holbrooke summoned Annan and a coterie of liberal foreign policy types to his Manhattan home for crisis control. Meanwhile, President Bush affirmed his confidence in the U.N. boss. More recently, on March 29, Annan, asked whether he would resign, ostentatiously said, "Hell, no."

But Coleman hasn't relented. The Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, which he chairs, has completed two hearings on Oil-for-Food. A third hearing—scheduled to begin May 17—will focus on Saddam's use of Oil-for-Food cash to bribe U.N. member states and bankroll terrorism. According to Coleman, Oil-for-Food highlights the world body's twin deficiencies: a lack of transparency and a lack of accountability. He stands by his call for Annan's resignation.

Coleman may seem an unlikely scourge of U.N. corruption. He's an erstwhile Democrat—he joined the Republican party just nine years ago—who co-chaired Bill Clinton's 1996 campaign in the Gopher State and is married to a Hollywood actress. But he's now the bane of Annan and other U.N.-philes, and not just over Oil-for-Food. On the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Coleman has become the most full-throated proponent of John Bolton's confirmation as U.N. ambassador.

"Let's be blunt," Coleman says of the Bolton spat. "This is about ideology." Republicans expected to get Bolton's nomination out of committee weeks ago. But Sen. George Voinovich's unexpected soul-searching scuttled those plans. And it gave anti-Bolton Democrats a chance to broaden their case against the nominee. The thrust of that case—that Bolton can be abrasive with underlings and allegedly bullied U.S. intelligence gatherers—has dominated the airwaves and editorial pages ever since.

Coleman has endeared himself to Bolton supporters as he's made the cable-news rounds of late, dueling with Democratic senators Joe Biden, Chris Dodd, Bill Nelson, and others. "I see John Bolton as a tremendous potential ally," Coleman says. "You need a tough advocate if you're going to change the bureaucracy of the U.N." He touts Bolton's multilateral work to secure the repeal of the U.N.'s Zionism-is-racism plank and to cement the 2002 Moscow Treaty on nuclear weapons.

The Minnesota senator also regards Bush's tapping of Bolton as a personal vindication of sorts. "The Bolton nomination is a very loud

Duncan Currie is a reporter at The Weekly Standard.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

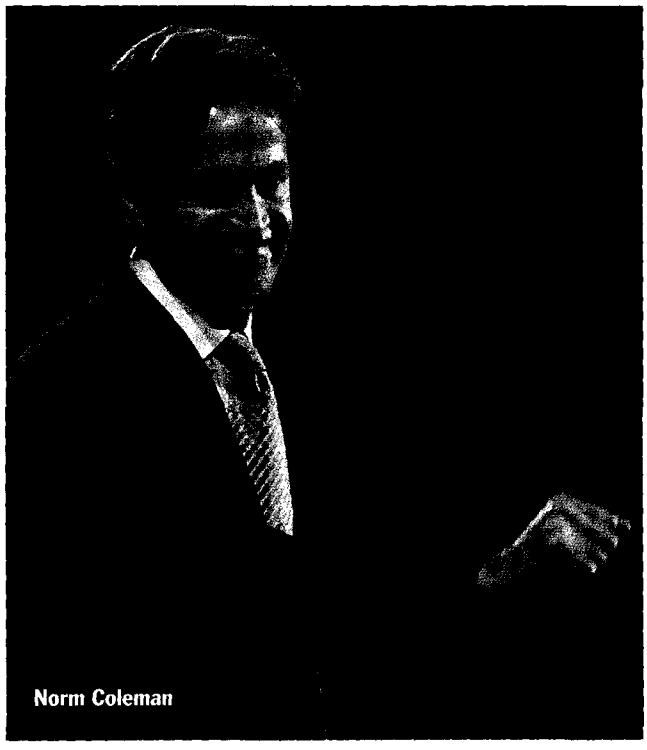
statement," he says. "Clearly, Kofi has not been exonerated." Nor was Coleman swayed by the second report of the U.N.-authorized Volcker committee, which Annan brandished as an acquittal. Instead, Coleman expressed concern over the Volcker team's "credibility and independence." He has issued two subpoenas to a senior U.N. investigator, Robert Parton, who claims he quit the probe because of its pro-Annan bias.

Such crusading has boosted Coleman's image with GOP conservatives. Some liberals have even likened him to former Republican senator Jesse Helms—who blocked payment of American dues until the U.N. overhauled its bulky apparatus. Helms eventually got his way. But Annan has thus far managed to parry Coleman's blows and keep his job, partly because outrage over Oil-for-Food has yet to reach a fever pitch.

Still, Coleman threw the floodlights on Annan's mismanagement. He "put [Oil-for-Food] on the front burner," says Rep. Mark Kennedy, a fellow Minnesota Republican. "He did the most to put it in America's public consciousness." Rep. Chris Shays, leader of the House's Oil-for-Food inquiry, concurs. "Senator Coleman is a terrific senator," Shays says. "He's very articulate and he's very aggressive—and I think he's playing an important role."

But not everyone judges Coleman's motives as pure. Critics paint him as a savvy opportunist. "Norm Coleman is a politician's politician," says Mike Erlandson, chairman of Minnesota's Democratic-Farmer-Labor (DFL) party. "This guy's driven by ambition." Though he entered the Senate only in January 2003, Coleman has climbed the GOP ladder with notable speed. Late last year, he narrowly lost to Sen. Elizabeth Dole in a bid to run the party's Senate campaign committee. No doubt he aspires to a prime leadership position, and maybe more.

But the Brooklyn native insists he's always been a reformer—even when he was a Democrat. He cut his political teeth as a state prosecutor and then as a reform-minded mayor of St. Paul. Elected to the latter office in 1993, Coleman set out to cut crime, cap property taxes, revamp city services, and shepherd a pilot school-voucher project. Yet at nearly every turn, he says, his own DFL party stood against change.


Norm Coleman

KRT / Chuck Kennedy

Coleman's efforts—combined with his pro-life views and refusal to promote gay rights—made him a pariah among DFL liberals. He was greeted with boos and jeers at various DFL events, including the party's June 1996 state convention. The *coup de grâce* that convinced him to defect, Coleman has said, was Democrats' opposition to welfare reform that same year. Following the '96 election, he left the DFL. Or, as he puts it, "the Democratic party left *me*."

Coleman, 55, says he brings the same zeal to cleaning up the U.N. that he once brought to revitalizing St. Paul. So much about the world body, he sighs, is risible. Zimbabwe, for instance—Robert Mugabe's starving police state—just retained its seat on the U.N. Human Rights Commission. Complains Coleman, "It's absurd."

What else—besides Iraq—looms large on his foreign policy radar? Chiefly, Latin America. Coleman, who heads the Senate's Western Hemisphere panel, points to "continuing instability," which he worries U.S. lawmakers often ignore. He ticks off the Sandinistas' creeping return in Nicaragua, the ousting of Ecuador's pro-American president, Lucio Gutiérrez, and the fraying of democracy in Bolivia. Then there's pesky Venezuelan strongman Hugo Chávez, Fidel Castro's new best friend, with whom Coleman met in Caracas for two hours in March. One of the region's few enduring bright lights, he observes, is Colombian president Álvaro Uribe, who has waged a tireless war against narcoterrorists. "I'm a huge fan of Uribe," Coleman says. "He is a great hope for the future of Colombia."

Might Coleman be a "great hope" for the Republicans' future? "I'm not convinced that Norm Coleman's ever faced a very difficult election," says Erlandson. But Ron Eibensteiner, chair of the Minnesota GOP, likens his restoration of St. Paul to Rudy Giuliani's transformation of New York. "I didn't really think St. Paul had a chance to be revitalized," he explains. "Well, Norm Coleman proved me wrong."

Coleman has ruled out a White House bid in 2008—he'll be busy stumping for reelection to the Senate—but left the door open for 2012 and beyond. "He definitely has the talent," says Eibensteiner. "And would I encourage it? Absolutely." ♦

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Uday's Oil-for-News Program

Was Al Jazeera on the take?

BY DAVEED GARTENSTEIN-ROSS & ERICK STAKELBECK

ON JANUARY 6, 2005, the U.S.-funded Arabic satellite network Al Hurra broadcast an explosive exposé detailing the financial links between Saddam Hussein's regime and the Arab press. Al Hurra's documentary—so far overlooked in the West—aired previously unseen video footage, recorded by Saddam Hussein's regime during its murderous heyday, of Saddam's son Uday meeting with several Arab media figures and referring to the bribes they had received.

Recipients of this Baathist largesse appeared to include a former managing director of the influential Qatar-based government-subsidized satellite network Al Jazeera, Mohammed Jassem al-Ali. The videotaped meeting between Uday and al-Ali occurred on March 13, 2000, when al-Ali still worked as Al Jazeera's managing director. Their conversation makes clear that this was not their first meeting, but that they had met on prior occasions—and that Al Jazeera had put into effect the directives that Uday had proffered in those previous meetings.

Referring to how his advice had affected changes in Al Jazeera's personnel, Uday states, "During your last visit here along with your colleagues we talked about a number of issues, and it does appear that you indeed were listening to what I was saying since changes took place and new faces came on board such as that lad, Mansour."

Daveed Gartenstein-Ross is an international terrorism consultant and an attorney with Boies, Schiller & Flexner. Erick Stakelbeck is vice president of the Center for Freedom in the Middle East in Washington, D.C.

This "lad" is Ahmed Mansour, an Al Jazeera journalist who has been criticized for his pro-insurgency reporting. In particular, Mansour came under fire in early 2004 for his coverage of the U.S. attack on Falluja, which pointedly emphasized civilian casualties.

Uday goes on in his videotaped conversation with al-Ali to mention that some people have relayed to him al-Ali's comment that Al Jazeera is the station of Iraq's Baathist regime "both literally and figuratively." Thus, Uday says, "It is important that I share with you my observations about the station."

Al-Ali never denies saying that Al Jazeera was Saddam's station. Instead, his cloying remarks provide Uday every reason to believe that this is so.

In response, al-Ali never denies saying that Al Jazeera was Saddam's station. Instead, his cloying remarks provide Uday every reason to believe that this is so. Al-Ali gives Uday his "unequivocal thanks for the precious trust that you put in me so that I was able to play a role at Al Jazeera; indeed I can even say that without your kind cooperation with us and your support my mission would have failed." Al-Ali also tells Uday that, in his mission at Al Jazeera to serve Iraq, "the lion's share of the credit goes to you personally sir, yet we would be remiss not to mention our colleagues here who constantly strive to implement your directive."

Al Jazeera isn't the only Arab media outlet implicated in the Al Hurra tapes. It was recently discovered that Hamida Naanaa, a Syrian writer based in France who was known for her pro-Saddam slant, had received coupons under the Oil-for-Food program in exchange for her favorable coverage. Al Hurra alleges that Saddam's regime would hand out two types of oil coupons to Arab media figures: silver coupons that entitled their holders to a maximum of 9 million barrels of oil, and gold coupons that were good for even more. Naanaa had received a gold coupon.

Bribery evidently yields its privileges; in its exposé, Al Hurra showed new footage of a meeting between Naanaa and Uday that reveals her obsequiousness and sycophancy toward the dictator's son. After Uday greets Naanaa, she gushes, "Hello to you, the dear son of the dear and the precious son of the precious. Hello, is kissing allowed?" Kissing was indeed allowed.

During their conversation, Naanaa refers to a "beautiful and sweet letter" that Uday had written to her, telling him, "I was so always looking forward to seeing you." Naanaa also expresses concern about the 1996 assassination attempt on Uday, saying, "We got worried about you, you know. . . . I just lost it when I heard the news."

Al Hurra was launched on February 14, 2004, and is a part of the Bush administration's effort to improve public diplomacy throughout the Arab and Muslim world. Today, it reaches 120 million people in 22 countries. The chairman of the Broadcasting Board of Governors Middle East Committee, Norman Pattiz, has estimated that the network may have 20 million regular weekly viewers.

Mouafac Harb, Al Hurra's director of network news and executive vice president, explained in an interview

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that, for security reasons, he couldn't say who had provided Al Hurra with the footage of Uday's meetings. However, Harb made clear that the network had received the footage from an Iraqi source, not from the U.S. government. With the hubris characteristic of dictators, Saddam and his sons made it a practice to videotape their meetings.

While Al Jazeera initially alleged that the tapes were part of a conspiracy against it, it has not mounted a challenge to their authenticity. In fact, Al Jazeera may have attempted to preempt the issue altogether by firing al-Ali shortly after the Baathist regime collapsed—without providing any reason for his termination. Yet despite al-Ali's sacking, there was no marked shift in Al Jazeera's coverage of Iraq. What had been pro-Saddam reporting before the U.S. invasion soon became pro-insurgency. Notes Walid Phares, a senior fellow at the Washington-based Foundation for the Defense of Democracies and one of Al Hurra's "review experts" for the January documentary, "Al Jazeera cooperated with the regime, which was the target of the international coalition. Even after the regime was gone, they continued to support the jihadists."

Given the continuing anti-U.S. slant to Al Jazeera's coverage, Phares believes the exposure of the kind of backroom dealings in which the network has been engaged ought to mark a "watershed" in understanding behind-the-scenes corruption at the network. The tapes might also prompt reflection on the representations of the "Arab street" seen on Al Jazeera and other media in the region. We now know that the same network that assured us Arab opinion uniformly opposed the U.S. invasion of Iraq also apparently served as a paid shill for Saddam's regime.

Moreover, Phares intimates that the dealings captured by the Al Hurra tapes may be only the tip of the iceberg. "How many other regimes have been paying these media?" he asks. Harb agrees, noting that it is a "widespread practice" for Arab leaders to intimidate or bribe leaders of media outlets, or even individual journalists.

This kind of corruption confirms the need for unbiased media in the Arab world. Some writers—including Reuel Marc Gerecht in these pages—have called for the creation of an Arab or Iraqi C-SPAN, a station that would broadcast unfiltered political debate of interest to the Arab world, and so serve as a means of education about the democratic process. Harb, on the other hand, thinks U.S. efforts should concentrate on creating a more vibrant media market in the Middle East. It is the lack of a viable independent media industry in the region, he notes, that leaves Arabic networks dependent on governments and opens management and journalists up to alternative revenue streams—like bribery. ♦

RUNAWAY BRIDE

Michael Ramirez

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Against Rendition

Why the CIA shouldn't outsource interrogations to countries that torture

By Reuel Marc Gerecht

QUESTION: Mr. President, under the law, how would you justify the practice of renditioning, where U.S. agents . . . [send] terror suspects abroad, taking them to a third country for interrogation? . . .

ANSWER: . . . We operate within the law and we send people to countries where they say they're not going to torture the people. But let me say something: The United States government has an obligation to protect the American people. It's in our country's interests to find those who would do harm to us. . . . We still [are] at war.

So spoke President Bush at a press conference on April 28, 2005. There is, however, a contradiction in the president's stated objective to use torture-free rendition as an effective counterterrorist weapon, to wit: Some of the countries to which prisoners have been rendered *do* use torture. Morally, operationally, and politically, then, the United States has got itself into a muddle through its embrace of rendition—that is, the transfer of American-held terrorists and terrorist suspects into the hands of foreign security and intelligence services.

Though the Central Intelligence Agency doesn't comment officially on the policy, it is one the Bush administration inherited from its predecessor, which used it principally against Osama bin Laden's al Qaeda. According to a former CIA officer knowledgeable about rendition in the 1990s, the Clinton administration first briefed the congressional intelligence oversight committees on transfers in the summer of 1995. Even then, the practice had antecedents in the cooperative "liaison" intelligence efforts Langley has run with a variety of Middle Eastern and Asian countries, notably Egypt and Jordan, the two Arab states with which the Clandestine Service has probably worked most closely over the last 25 years. In the mid-1980s, when Duane Clarridge, the contra-supporting, covert-action-loving favorite of CIA director William Casey, transformed the agency's Counterterrorism Center into a serious bureaucratic force at Langley, counterterrorist liaison work with friendly Arab states increased significantly. Joint-counterterrorist and joint-espionage operations have occasionally cast foreign security services as punishers of deceitful agents controlled by CIA case officers. Depending on the sin, retribution could be severe.

A byproduct of Langley's decades-old inability to recruit or secrete agents inside many Middle Eastern organizations, the increasing use of friendly Arab liaison services is actually part of a global pattern, where liaison work has gradually taken priority over "unilateral" (CIA-only) clandestine operations. In the Middle East post-9/11, this liaison dispensation, according to active-duty agency officers, has skyrocketed. Since the late 1990s, the United States has rendered at least 100 men, according to both congressional and CIA officials, into foreign hands. Most of these transfers have occurred since 9/11, which changed a low-profile counterterrorist tool into standard operating procedure, critical to the way the CIA wages its battle against Islamic extremism.

The moral issues surrounding rendition are what has caught the attention of the press and both Democratic and Republican members of Congress. One regularly hears in Washington a conjecture that rendition may have been the top of a slippery slope that led to very rough tactics at Guantanamo Bay and to Abu Ghraib's abusive antics. This view may have merit. If the CIA is rendering detainees to foreigners because of the efficacy of their aggressive interrogations, then the CIA is acknowledging the utility of heavy-handedness in counterterrorist debriefings. And the agency, by all accounts, does use harsh methods at its own facilities against members of al Qaeda. (Whether these methods constitute torture is another question.) Such a professional disposition could have seeped into intelligence units in the Pentagon that work with the agency. Military intelligence often follows Langley's custom and practice, though it hates to admit it. And once professional ethics start to crack, an implosion can occur. Yet it is entirely possible, if not probable, that military outfits came

Reuel Marc Gerecht is a resident fellow at the American Enterprise Institute and a contributing editor to The Weekly Standard. *He is a former case officer in the Clandestine Service of the CIA.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

up with the Guantanamo and Abu Ghraib techniques strictly on their own.

The interrogation methods used at Guantanamo appear to have been derived overwhelmingly from those U.S. Special Forces are trained *to resist*. And what Americans did at Abu Ghraib could easily have sprung from their modern MTV imaginations, or from a more educated though juvenile understanding of Arab sexual ethics discussed in the taboo-exploring 1973 book *The Arab Mind* by the late scholar Raphael Patai. Patai seems to have a following in certain quarters of the military; the foreword to the paperback edition of his book was written by a respected former military officer.

But the central importance that Seymour Hersh gave to Patai in his essay on Abu Ghraib in the *New Yorker* is likely overstated. Intellectual influences and traditions in the military, the most hierarchical of organizations, always leave a paper trail, even on subjects that might embarrass nonmilitary personnel. Given the anti-Iraq war sentiment among many Army officers, we would have heard much more detailed commentary about Patai's influence were it actually as great as Hersh's anonymous informants suggest. (In particular, the assertion that the book was "the bible of the neocons on Arab behavior," and thus had a wide prewar impact, is odd, given how few neoconservatives have read it—I did an informal survey—and how seldom neoconservatives have Freudian conversations with military officers.)

It is possible that rendition slowly fueled an American willingness to try debriefing methods used by Arab or other Muslim security services against terrorist suspects. One doesn't have to be a fan of Patai to realize that sex is a sensitive issue in the Muslim Middle East, and the security services of modern dictatorships have been known to transgress morality in the pursuit of regime security (Saddam's certainly did). Does anyone think that the internal-security black-clad ninjas of Algeria's military junta—they call themselves *les exterminateurs*—would scruple to use some form of sexual intimidation against Islamic holy warriors trying to topple the regime if they thought it effective? We definitely have had an expanded military and intelligence liaison relationship with the Algerian military since 9/11. Nor do other, more polite, dictatorial regimes in the Arab world have so rigid a code of ethics as to prevent them from pressuring detainees' ids. Yet this sequencing of cause and effect—the idea that U.S. practice deteriorated under the influence of rendition—runs counter to the CIA's objective in the exercise, namely, to gain distance from the interrogation of suspected terrorists by sending them abroad. What you don't see, you can't teach. The Pentagon and the CIA would have produced reams of paper about the educational impact of rendition, had it existed, and such documents have not so far surfaced. They surely would have if they'd been even tangentially connected to Abu Ghraib. The inspector general's office at the CIA is sufficiently competent, morally attentive, and politically astute to discover and expose any substantial cross-fertilization.

Yet even if we assume that rendition did *somehow* lead to Abu Ghraib, should we therefore conclude that rendition is wrong? Worthwhile actions can have adverse consequences that don't necessarily negate the value of what was originally done. America killed huge numbers of civilians in World War II, yet only the America-hating fringe believes that those deaths nullify the military and moral triumph of the United States over Nazi Germany and Imperial Japan. Advocates of rendition can argue that the practice saves lives in fighting terrorists who would use weapons of mass destruction if they could. In such circumstances, good intelligence, however obtained, could save tens, even hundreds of thousands of American civilian lives. And Langley's hard-nosed bureaucrats can suggest that it is better to have the "ragheads" do the dirty work than for Americans to sully themselves. It's a decent bet that many Americans, liberal or conservative, would privately agree with that sentiment. It *is* an ugly world out there, and al Qaeda is to a considerable extent an Arab problem, so why not let Arab allies aggressively interrogate our Arab enemies? They can do this better than we can, so this argument goes, since it is their culture and they've had lots of practice.

So is it wrong to send a suspected or actual member of al Qaeda to Egypt or Jordan for the purposes of aggressive interrogation? One must assume that any Muslim the CIA deposits into the hands of the Egyptian or Jordanian security and intelligence services will be tortured. The services of neither country cherish the Marquess of Queensberry Rules inside their prisons, especially for those guilty of violent political behavior. If rumors are true, bastinado is a type of foreplay among the security organizations in both lands. The "Ottoman pull-up," where the hands are tied low behind the back and the entire body is then lifted from the wrists, is also a common, more pulverizing method to get the mind and body to quiver. And these are primitive techniques in a region of the world where state power is thoroughly modernized. Only democratic Turkey has begun the difficult moral and legal evolution that has led Western democratic societies away from torture as standard police and judicial practice.

If we are to be brutally honest, *the* compelling reason why Washington has backed rendition is that the Clinton and Bush administrations wanted our Arab allies to do

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

what we can no longer countenance by our own hand (and anyone who thinks Guantanamo and Abu Ghraib disprove this point is ignorant of the history of professionally administered torture). If we understand rendition as do many CIA intelligence officers, we know it has two great advantages. The outsourcing of torture is, especially for the Americans who must otherwise administer the pain, easily the more attractive.

The other big plus is that rendition eliminates the Guantanamo detention problem (or, in the case of the Clinton administration, criminal court cases that national security adviser Samuel Berger always feared losing). Proving guilt in a U.S. civilian or military court through the use of even rock-solid, politely obtained intelligence can be extremely difficult. Proving guilt in such a court with the use of similarly hard intelligence gained through physical abuse is impossible.

Rendition also solves the problem of how to deal with minor-league would-be Islamic terrorists or guerrillas who may or may not have had the United States in their sights. These are individuals who are guilty by association with al Qaeda and its allied groups but would never, ever be prosecuted in an American civilian or military court for lack of legally admissible evidence.

The large-scale renditions to Uzbekistan that the *New York Times* has reported on were probably mostly of this petty, Guantanamo-avoidance type. Central Asian Islamic extremists picked up in Afghanistan after the fall of the Taliban have probably not yet fully embraced the overriding America-focused hatred of al Qaeda (though with continued U.S. backing of Uzbek president-for-life Islam Karimov, this might change). Culturally and linguistically, these al Qaeda-allied militants have limited operational range; they are what Ahmed Shah Massoud, the murdered leader of the Afghan Northern Alliance, once called "Islamist cannon-fodder" for the Taliban. Whatever information the Uzbek security service could beat out of these men would be considered a tangential benefit to the CIA—while removing them from its hands, or the hands of the U.S.-backed government in Kabul, would be a blessing. Transfers of such detainees further cement the 14 years of pretty warm relations between Langley and Tashkent's security and intelligence services—easily, according to active-duty CIA officers, the best liaison cooperation the agency has enjoyed with any Central Asian state since the crack-up of the Soviet Union.

Given the legalistic nature of the CIA, Michael Scheuer, head of the agency's Osama bin Laden/al Qaeda desk in the late 1990s, is undoubtedly right about the high level of oversight these practices have had. Scheuer wrote recently in the *New York Times*, concerning rendition, that he had never seen "a set of operations that was more closely scrutinized by the director of central intelligence, the National Security Council and the Congressional intelligence committees," or "that was more blessed (plagued?) by the expert guidance of lawyers." This is not at all the impression that Republican senator Pat Roberts tried to convey in April at confirmation hearings for the national intelligence director, John Negroponte. "There has been a great deal of discussion, Mr. Ambassador, about the U.S. government's involvement in interrogation, rendition, and detention of terrorists in the global war on terror," the chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence opened. "[C]an you commit to us that as the DNI you will ensure the intelligence community's activities comply with the Constitution of the United States and all applicable laws and treaties . . . ?"

In times of war and great stress, the capacity for officials to not know what is unpleasant is large and most human. Is it unreasonable to believe that for both Democrats and Republicans the pictures of Abu Ghraib have muted the sounds of human beings falling from the Twin Towers? As memories of 9/11 fade, we have retreated to pre-al Qaeda ethics where *all of us* are more comfortable.

But if we leave aside for a moment the question of whether torture can ever be a morally legitimate counterterrorist tool, we can examine a different question; that is, the efficacy of rendition. And this is one place where the practice is really indefensible. Though agency officials will not publicly acknowledge its use, CIA case officers and knowledgeable analysts do so readily in private. In his approval of rendition, Scheuer is probably representative of a CIA consensus, at least within the Near East division of the Directorate of Operations. It is, other agency officers will tell you unofficially, an ugly but needed tool against Islamic holy warriors. But is it? It shouldn't be *that* hard to understand that rendition is actually an abdication of intelligence professionalism. It is more evidence—there is so much—that the Directorate of Operations is a broken institution and increasingly *the* obstacle to developing more effective counterterrorist tactics for the United States overseas.

A cardinal rule of the intelligence business—many case officers would call it the first principle of collecting human intelligence—is to maintain control of the individuals you are debriefing or interrogating. It is for this reason that, historically, the CIA has looked askance at "liaison" intelligence and always has clearly marked, at least for consumers within the intelligence community, the foreign provenance of such information. This intelligence might be good, even excellent, and when the CIA could corroborate it with its own intelligence or verifiable fact, then such

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

liaison intelligence could be labeled, with appropriate warnings, as worthy of serious consideration. Still, it was always seen as somehow tainted, even when it came from the "Anglo-Saxon cousins"—the British, Australians, and, before they went a bit dippy at the close of the Cold War, the New Zealanders and Canadians. Whenever possible, the CIA always strove for greater knowledge of, and often greater access to, the human sources of this information. Joint operations and debriefings could develop: In the process, foreign intelligence and security agencies could earn goodwill and chits with Langley, sometimes redeemable through CIA-provided goodies and services.

Now, what Langley is doing through rendition is the reverse. The United States is voluntarily diminishing, if not ending, its dominion over intelligence sources it controls by transferring them to other countries. And we're not talking Great Britain, France, or Israel, with whom the United States has the ties that are possible only with Western democracies, but Arab and Muslim states with whom we have, especially since 9/11, more complicated relations. If it is true, as it strongly appears to be, that Langley actually transferred individuals to Syria—an officially recognized state sponsor of terrorism—then rendition has taken Langley, the White House, and Congress into a positively surreal "realist" world.

The mind spins thinking how agency officials would phrase the sourcing notes on intelligence collected from Syrian debriefings: *Information collected by a foreign intelligence service that the United States now strongly suspects is aiding Iraqi insurgents; this intelligence service also has a long history of operationally aiding Palestinian terrorist organizations and the Lebanese Hezbollah, and colluding with Iran's Revolutionary Guards Corps; this intelligence service may also have arranged the murder of Lebanon's former prime minister, Rafik Hariri, and is one of the great drug-smuggling organizations in the world. However, in this particular instance, we believe we have properly calibrated this service's possible ulterior motives and deem the intelligence collected by this service to be worthy of dissemination to the intelligence community for its consideration.*

Now, it may well be true, as Scheuer argues, that rendition sometimes produced intelligence information that was valuable against al Qaeda. But surely the Central Intelligence Agency could have obtained the same information if it had applied similar interrogative techniques. With in-house control, the agency could have had greater confidence in the information collected, since it would have been guiding and monitoring the process 24/7. From the perspective of an intelligence officer, it makes absolutely no operational sense to have someone torture for you if you have the option of doing the dirty work yourself. (And the United States certainly has the capacity to "false flag" an interrogation—make it appear that non-Americans are in charge—if this is deemed advantageous.) Since the highest-profile al Qaeda subjects, Khalid Sheikh Mohammed and Ramzi bin al-Shibh, both arrested in Pakistan, were quickly rendered to the Americans, it seems plain that in the case of the most important assets, we insist on maintaining control ourselves. If rendition were operationally superior to in-house aggressive interrogation, the CIA would have been derelict in not leaving these two masterminds in foreign hands.

Furthermore, rendition is not necessary as a means of drawing on specific national or regional expertise in a given interrogation. If the CIA on occasion desires such aid, Egyptian president Hosni Mubarak or King Abdullah of Jordan is no doubt thrilled to provide the officers required. The more these two leaders can build a clientele within the U.S. government, the better they can counter President George W. Bush's pro-democracy foreign policy. Imagine the National Security Council's democracy promoter, Elliott Abrams, arriving in Cairo to warn Mubarak not to rig national elections or imprison democratic dissidents, while CIA personnel fraternally engage Egyptian security and intelligence officials in questioning al Qaeda suspects on Guam. These are the contradictions in U.S. policy that anxious dictators and kings live for. All the CIA ever had to do was whistle if it needed foreign talent to make up for any American deficiency in its interrogations.

As for those who believe that torture itself is an ineffective intelligence tool—and a wide swath of the intelligence community, after the Abu Ghraib scandal and before President Bush's reelection, seemed to think so—rendition makes no sense whatsoever. It would amount to the United States willfully diminishing the flow of reliable information. John Negroponte appears to be in this camp. He remarked in his confirmation hearing, "Not only is torture illegal and reprehensible, but even if it were not so, I don't think it's an effective way of producing useful information." If Negroponte sincerely believes what he said, then the practice of rendition is over.

The CIA, however, may know something that Ambassador Negroponte will reluctantly grow to appreciate. Anyone who has had serious pain intentionally inflicted upon him or her—and clandestine-service junior officers receive a small but sufficient dose in their training—knows that the truth has an imprint upon the brain that can withstand the distress, confusion, and loneliness of aggressive interrogation. Lies don't have the same tenacity. There is a reason that the former prisoners of war who briefed my junior-officer class on the pitfalls of imprisonment warned that the truth *will* come out. No professional intelligence officer alive wants to torture people. No moral man isn't repelled by the damage done to the victim and the perpetrator. But sadism and primitive notions of justice and sal-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vation aren't the only reasons men, particularly men in danger, have had recourse to torture for millennia.

If Negroponte tries to end rendition, Langley is probably going to resist. Most important, rendition appeals to the CIA because it is easy. Having others do your work for you is always bureaucratically commendable. And rendition leaves no counterterrorist debris. In foreign hands, terrorist suspects just disappear into the cells of Middle Eastern prisons or—for the lucky, with time—filter back to their homelands, where, *inshallah*, they will cause no further harm, at least to the foreign country that incarcerated and tortured them at America's request. Rendition gives the CIA power and clout in Washington. It has become an integral part of America's counterterrorist modus operandi—a thing nobody really wants to talk about but most probably view as valuable. But why exactly should the rest of us take Langley's word for it that rendition is an essential weapon?

If the Bush administration were wise, it would immediately set up a small bipartisan group, chosen by members of the intelligence oversight committees, to examine in fact how uniquely valuable the practice has been. Odds are such a group, if it got into the weeds and compared the intelligence gathered by "them" and by "us" post-9/11, would have a hard time being effusive about the program. The Central Intelligence Agency's decades-old quest to become a barely covert version of Foggy Bottom has left the Directorate of Operations increasingly captive to the preferences and good will of foreign intelligence and security services. This irresponsible trend can lead to trouble.

It is easy to envision the administration getting publicly raked over the coals in the not-distant future for some rendition mishap. In that event, Congress would surely feign ignorance of its own tacit assent to torturing foreigners. To forestall this, the administration should force itself and Congress to write down what they truly think about rendition, both its performance in the past and its justification as an ongoing practice. They should review the past, enumerating when and where each responsible congressional or executive-branch party was briefed about "Muhammad" being sent to Egypt, or "Ahmad" being sent to Jordan, or "Umar" being sent to Saudi Arabia. Our elected representatives should be obliged to look at the intelligence return on the questioning of such men, and then to reapprove the questioning techniques.

In so doing, good men of conscience would realize that the United States must have room in its foreign and counterterrorist policies for the repatriation of detainees who are not anti-American terrorists and who cannot stand trial in U.S. civilian or military courts. In this war against Islamic extremism, we cannot avoid vacuuming up some individuals who hate us and who may have an ideological sympathy or association with militant groups that have done or would do us harm. Detainees selected for repatriation would not be full-blown members of al Qaeda or allied terrorist groups. They might not have been involved directly in terrorist acts, if only because they lacked the will to become holy warriors. This is the way a thoughtful, humane counterterrorist program must sometimes work. (A nonhumane alternative would be to practice Algerian counterterrorism, where the emphasis is on killing, not on incarceration and patient interrogation.)

Without seeing the interrogation and debriefing notes of all those the United States has put into Guantanamo Bay and other U.S. facilities since 9/11, it's impossible to know for sure, but there's a decent chance that many if not most of those Washington has detained fall into the above category—Islamic militants not proved to have committed specific terrorist acts. The United States really has only two options for these men: keep them incarcerated until they're old and broken and then send them back to their homelands, or repatriate them as soon as the U.S. government knows they fit in the above category. It is possible, if not likely, such men would endure some torture upon their return home—some could even be killed, though the CIA probably couldn't figure out beforehand which ones would provoke such wrath. But this is the fate of many in the Muslim Middle East. (Just ask a member of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt—now, at this moment, a tolerated fundamentalist group—whether he knows people who have been tortured and freed. He'll probably give you a very long list.)

Repatriation is unpleasant. It is ugly and unjust for the truly innocent who get sucked up into an American or allied dragnet and then are returned home, suspicions having been raised by their foreign incarceration. But this outcome for nonlethal Islamic militants and the innocent is surely better than spending years—decades, perhaps—in American jails waiting for late middle-age to rob them of their capacity to cause harm. No "safe" third country will take in these men. No American president is going to let them, at any age, take up residence in the United States. With all its problems, repatriation is the most humane option Washington can choose for the collaterally damaged in the war against Islamic terrorism.

Remember: Repatriation isn't rendition, which seeks to use foreigners as front-line interrogators of terrorists and terrorist suspects (and only as a welcome side effect reduces the population at Guantanamo Bay). Eventually, the contradictions between the practice

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of prisoner transfer, if it continues, and the Bush administration's intent to work for the democratic transformation of the Middle East could paralyze the administration's foreign policy.

For the "realists" in the government, there is perhaps no aspect of America's counterterrorist strategy that is more appealing than rendition, since it binds the CIA and foreign services together in a very hard-nosed and (the realists believe) effective way, and it obliges our allies to do most of the heavy lifting. It's possible to imagine President Bush reining in the intelligence and counterterrorist establishment in Washington that has grown accustomed to rendition and is determined to maintain established liaison relationships and practices. The president could easily say to the concerned bureaucracies that any counterterrorist practice that works against the expansion of democracy in the Middle East is unacceptably counterproductive. The growth of democracy among Muslims is the only sure way of breaking bin Ladenism. Now, not later, the United States must wean itself from compromising alliances with autocratic regimes, no matter how "pro-American" specific joint-intelligence operations may be.

Of course, it is also possible to imagine the administration backing off its determined promotion of democracy in the Middle East, as it realizes that elections in some countries, particularly Egypt, could lead to fundamentalists' gaining significant power. There is an odd alignment brewing in Washington between sincere advocates of liberal democracy in the Middle East and realist types who don't at all see the spread of democracy as a necessary or urgent antidote to bin Ladenism. The liberal-democracy advocates live in fear of Islamic activist gains through electoral politics. They don't see this as part of a beneficial and inevitable evolutionary process within Islam. These liberal democrats think you can encourage and empower progressive Muslims over the heads of illiberal dictators and kings, so when democracy finally dawns in the Arab Middle East there will be little to fear. The progressives will have triumphed over those who too thoroughly mix politics and faith. This utopian mindset, combined with the realist critique and understandable feminist anxiety about an electorally powerful conservative Islam, could gain the high ground in this administration. And whatever else this alliance does, it will powerfully reinforce the rendition ethic in Washington. When you're taking such a long view of President Bush's "forward strategy of freedom," short-term compromises become easier to bear.

But fate may be kind to the president. The number of captured holy warriors appears to be in decline. Both Afghanistan and Iraq appear to be working. The "golden age" of rendition may well be over. The administration may not have to worry seriously about tradeoffs between democracy and counterterrorism in the Arab world. Then again, in the not-too-distant future the CIA or the Pentagon could discover a new cesspool of bomb-happy anti-American jihadists in a foreign land, and have no alternative but to kill and capture as many as possible. The tension between democratic values and counterterrorist imperatives could become acute. It would behoove the administration to know for sure whether that tension should even exist—does rendition do anything for us that we cannot do better ourselves?—before such a scenario develops.

All of this, of course, jumps over the great debate the United States has been avoiding since 9/11. Are there circumstances where the American government ought to countenance the use of torture? Moral people are often forced to weigh ideals in urgent and unforgiving circumstances. In extremis, we do certain things. Even uncompromising ethical codes based on divine authority usually recognize, however reluctantly, the doctrine of "the lesser of two evils." But the extreme case—the terrorist cell with a weapon of mass destruction in, say, New York or London—is the relatively easy one. How many lives must be threatened before "lesser evils" may legitimately be chosen? What if a terrorist suspect doesn't have information relevant to an *imminent* threat? Is it ever legitimate to torture a man or woman to extract information that may possibly save tens of thousands of lives in the future?

Professor Alan Dershowitz of Harvard tried to provoke us to think about this issue after 9/11 with his discussion of "torture warrants." If the administration had tackled the issue then and forced the country to have an open debate about the ethics of combating mass terrorism, it's likely there would have been greater clarity at the Pentagon and the CIA about what to do against whom, when. We would have less need of lawyers and of the moral camouflage, obfuscation, and cowardice that often come with top-secret classification. Our present muddle over rendition might not have arisen.

Even now, having this debate could stop us from doing—or not doing—something that our collective national conscience would later regret. The most extreme reactions usually occur when people fail to prepare themselves thoughtfully for easily foreseeable situations. One thing is certain: Our avoidance of this necessary debate is a disservice to the men and women of the CIA, the Pentagon, and the FBI who may one day be called upon to do the unspeakable if once again we feel imminently threatened. ♦

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Blair's Last Hurrah

America's staunchest ally hangs on to 10 Downing Street, weakened but not defeated

By Irwin M. Stelzer

London

It isn't easy being an American in London during an election campaign. To chattering class commentators here the most notable and praiseworthy feature of the British process is its contrast with campaigns across the Atlantic. On Election Day last week, historian Simon Schama used a four-page spread in *The Guardian* to tell his readers, "After the stifling incense-choked sanctimoniousness of American politics, getting back to Britain was like coming up for air. . . . Most wondrous of all, perhaps, is the conspicuous absence in British hustings rhetoric of the one campaign helper without whose assistance no American candidate can possibly hope to prevail, namely God." Better still, in Britain it is safe for politicians to discuss expanding the welfare state, "the mere mention of which, in the U.S., would likely trigger the opening of a File in the Department of Homeland Security." There's more, but you get the idea.

This year's U.K. election campaign, however, was a chance to get one's own back, to use Britspeak for getting even. In 2000 smug BBC reporters told and retold tales of voting irregularities in Florida, with an "It can't happen here" flourish. Well, it did. Tony Blair's Labour party pushed postal voting on an unprepared bureaucracy and was rewarded with the support of thousands of voters so devoted to Labour that they cast their ballots from the grave. Labour was not the only beneficiary of Daley-esque shenanigans. One Jamshed Khan, campaigning for Haroon Rashid, the Conservative candidate in heavily Muslim Bradford West, registered 13 voters at his home and 12 more at a derelict house he allegedly owned. This was an election in which the postman only had to ring once in order to pick up sacks of ballots. By comparison, Florida was a model, if not of efficiency, certainly of integrity.

Similarly, the anti-Iraq media here greeted George W. Bush's smashing reelection victory with the headline, "How Can 59,054,087 People Be So DUMB: U.S. Election Disaster"—an expression of amazement that any politician supporting the unseating of Saddam Hussein could possibly persuade voters that he is not intent on world domination. Well, it turns out that millions of British voters are no brighter: They voted for Labour and Conservative party candidates who are on record as supporting the ouster of Saddam Hussein. True, the Tories wobbled at times, arguing that Blair had not been candid about the existence (or nonexistence) of weapons of mass destruction, but in the final week of the campaign their leader, Michael Howard, came out in support of regime change.

That said, the Liberal Democrats, the only antiwar party, did increase the number of seats they hold to a record 62, from 51, and their share of the popular vote by a significant four percentage points, to 22 percent. Also, many Lib Dem supporters voted tactically, switching to the Tories in constituencies where that meant a defeat for Labour. And in tallying the strength of antiwar sentiment one has to give weight to the fact that Saddam pal and supporter George Galloway, after having been tossed out of the Labour party, returns to Parliament, having defeated Oona King, the pro-war Labour candidate. King, a black, half-Jewish woman, simply could not win in a constituency that is 40 percent Muslim.

Add to that the victories of such antiwar Labour candidates as Glenda Jackson (more on her in a minute) and Claire Short, and it is certainly arguable that Blair's unwavering support of America and the Iraq war contributed to the drop in his parliamentary majority. "Tony Blair paid a heavy price for his lies over Iraq," trumpeted the virulently anti-Blair *Daily Mail*; Blair's "huge majority was slashed as the antiwar brigade turned nasty and voted for anyone but Labour," agreed Trevor Kavanagh, Britain's most influential political commentator, in the pro-Blair *Sun*.

Just how strong antiwar sentiment was—is—is difficult to determine. Voters had a host of reasons for opposing Blair. Labour has antagonized rural voters by banning fox hunting, alienated others by raising taxes, and forfeited the support of voters concerned by rising crime and what seems to be uncontrolled immigration. During the campaign Blair tried mightily to follow the advice of John

Irwin M. Stelzer is a contributing editor to The Weekly Standard, *director of economic policy studies at the Hudson Institute, and a columnist for the* Sunday Times *(London).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Cleese in his still-popular television series, *Fawlty Towers*. Cleese, some of you may remember, kept reminding himself, "Don't mention the war," when German guests arrived at his hotel. He failed, and so did Blair.

Not for want of trying. But the antiwar faction, with the full assistance of the press—and with no U.S. ambassador here to make the case for the liberation of Iraq—had the field to itself. Add to their feelings about Iraq their antipathy to Blair's proposed reforms of the welfare state. He has announced plans to introduce consumer choice and use private-sector facilities, which is a not-red-enough flag to anti-Blair Labour MPs such as Glenda Jackson, MP for Hampstead & Highgate and the only member of parliament to have won an Oscar. Jackson is perhaps best known by those more interested in the cinema than in politics for her memorable 1970 performance in *The Music Lovers*, described by director Ken Russell as "the story of the marriage between a homosexual and a nymphomaniac" (Jackson played the latter).

Fans of politics rather than movies know her as a Labour MP best described during the recently completed election campaign by *Times* columnist Ben MacIntyre as "Brittle, and spiny as a sea urchin . . . more or less permanently peeved. Even with a pint of latte inside her, she carries an air of chilliness. . . . She has provided Labour voters with a way through an electoral conundrum. Vote Glenda: Bash Blair."

Still, Blair is back in Downing Street for a third term, and may end up as the longest-serving leader of the major powers that toppled Saddam's tyranny. Indeed, Spain's José María Aznar is the only major member of the anti-Saddam coalition to have been repudiated by the voters, and that for reasons largely unrelated to the war. Australian prime minister John Howard (no relation to the Tories' Michael, who will be stepping down) was reelected, as was George W. Bush. And now, Blair, who is likely to remain in power after John Howard's term expires, and after Bush and his chainsaw are massacring brush in Crawford—assuming, of course, that he does not get so frustrated by the left of his own party that he decides the time has come to make a bit of money for his family.

All of that is for later. Last week, the prime minister celebrated his 52nd birthday by returning to Downing Street and calling on the queen at Buckingham Palace, where he was asked to form a government. He may have been bloodied by the reduction in his majority, but he is unbowed.

The 355 seats Labour holds are well down from the 412 the party won in the last election, but not wildly out of line with the numbers chalked up by Margaret Thatcher's Tories in her three runs for the premiership (339, 397, and 376 in 1979, 1983, and 1987), and in some sense an inevitable consequence of the animosities that accumulate towards a long-serving prime minister. That gives Blair a majority of 65, not as comfortable as the 167 he had after the 2001 election, but workable—perhaps.

Only "perhaps." The paradox is that the rightward shift of the electorate towards the Tories strengthens Britain's political left. When he had a large majority, Blair could survive revolts by his hard left, enabling him to accept and build on the reforms he inherited from Margaret Thatcher. That was then. The Labour left has never liked Blair. He was their meal ticket, so they went along with him on many issues. But not on the war, and not on his efforts to reform the welfare state. So Blair is in the uncomfortable position of having some of his bitterest opponents sitting on his side of the House of Commons, directly behind him, rhetorical knives poised, emboldened to withhold their support from a man they see as a lame duck whose replacement by their hero, Chancellor Gordon Brown, they can speed by making life unpleasant for Blair. Kavanagh reports, "Party whips . . . fear an upsurge of indiscipline among surviving MPs who are accustomed to rebellion."

The "rebellion" faction numbers several dozen. When Blair proposed that universities be allowed to charge what are called "top-up fees," to be paid only when the beneficiaries of what passes for higher education enter the work force and earn more than 15,000 pounds, some 71 Labour MPs balked (a few later went along after winning concessions). When he proposed to allow hospitals some freedom in managing their own finances, 62 members of his party voted "no," and there would have been more had not chancellor Gordon Brown leaned on some of his friends on the left. Most important, when Blair asked the House of Commons to authorize him to take the nation to war in Iraq, 139 of his 412 party colleagues said hell no, we won't let you go. Blair won Parliament's backing for war only because the Conservatives, then led by Iain Duncan Smith, the Bush White House's favorite Tory, provided the votes needed to allow Blair to let slip the dogs of war.

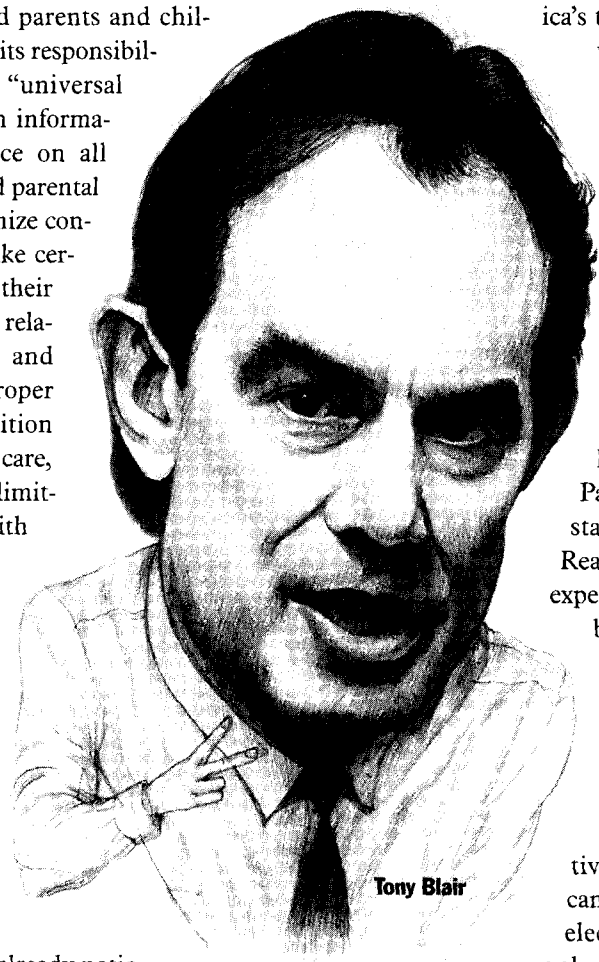
None of this seems to have cooled the prime minister's ardor for radical reform. Or affected his conviction that his broadly pro-American foreign policy is right for Britain. Both parts of his agenda, the domestic and the foreign, will have important consequences for American interests.

On the domestic side, and worrying for Americans doing business in Britain, Blair and his chancellor plan to continue the Europeanization of Britain. Through a combination of bracket creep (taxpayers move into higher brackets as their incomes rise) and tax increases, Blair's Britain will see the portion of its income claimed by Her Majesty's Treasury pass the 40 percent mark, the money to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be dispensed in large part by an ever-expanding army of bureaucrats whose sole aim seems to be to make the lives of the nation's doctors, nurses, teachers, and cops more difficult, with form-filling now a major claimant of the time of these front-line public servants.

These higher taxes and a mounting regulatory burden are a consequence of Blair's decision to expand the role of the state, with some of the burden falling on the many American companies doing business here. Labour's manifesto unapologetically defends the "nanny state": "Fear of seeming to 'nanny' has in the past meant British law and culture have not supported parents and children. Government cannot shirk its responsibilities." So Blair is promising "universal childcare"; "Parents Direct," an information service "to provide advice on all aspects of children's services and parental entitlements"; reforms to minimize conflict in cases of divorce and make certain that both parents recognize their "responsibility for a meaningful relationship with their children"; and instructions to parents on proper diets for their children, in addition to increased spending on health care, cops, education, and a virtually limitless list of other good things. With government finances stretched, the Blair-Brown plan is to impose the costs of many of these programs on employers not only by increasing taxes but also by, among other things, increasing mandatory paid time-off for "parenting." The many U.S. firms that are active here—America accounts for almost 25 percent of all foreign investment coming into Britain—are already noticing that Britain is decreasingly a haven from continental Europe's stifling tax-and-regulate regime.


Tony Blair

More important, and on the plus side of the ledger, Blair's return to Downing Street means that America retains an ally in a Europe in which the major countries—France, Germany, Spain, and, perhaps soon, an Italy that may have returned Silvio Berlusconi to the business sector—are hostile to our interests. Blair will spend the balance of this year on the international stage, as chairman of the G-8 when it meets in Edinburgh this summer, and as president of the E.U. for six months starting in July. Bush will be delighted that those seats are occupied by his old friend, especially since the prime minister's pro-American leanings have been reinforced by the savaging he received at the hands of the reliably duplicitous French president.

Jacques Chirac waited until Blair left a meeting in Brussels to call a press conference and demand that Britain increase its payments to the E.U. by forfeiting a rebate won by Margaret Thatcher, an issue that Blair definitely did not want raised during the election campaign. Blair's private response can only be printed in a family publication if expletives are deleted. This distrust of France should keep Blair on America's team when the inevitable controversies arise: He is already attempting to stall the Franco-German drive to lift the arms embargo against China.

But Blair remains committed to a European constitution that will deprive him and his successors of substantial power, and transfer it to a largely anti-American Brussels bureaucracy that is likely to dance to whatever tune happens to be emanating from Paris. And he seems not to understand that the European Rapid Reaction Force (known by military experts to be neither rapid, nor capable of reacting, nor a force) will end up draining NATO of scarce resources, thereby playing into long-standing French plans to reduce the U.S. presence in Europe.

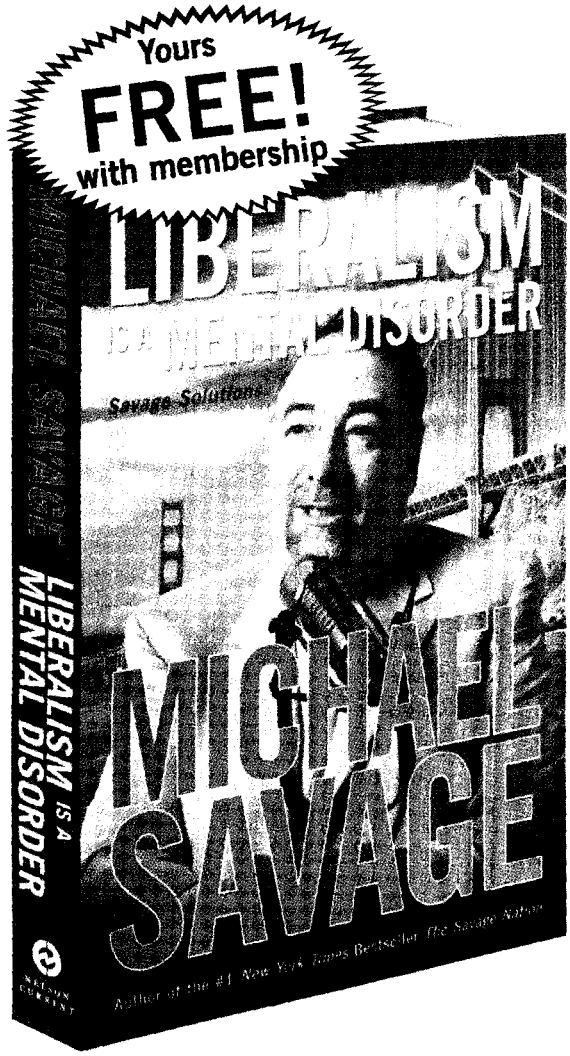
All in all, and despite the negative aspects, from a purely American point of view, last week's British election was a win. The voters not only failed to unseat Tony Blair for siding with America, and for declaring that neoconservative foreign policy sounds to him like progressive politics with a different name, they handed him an unprecedented third victory, leaving in place America's staunchest ally.

Since one good turn deserves another, Bush can best reward Blair by appointing to the too-long-vacant post at the Court of St. James an ambassador sufficiently articulate to explain the American position to our critics in the vigorous British media, and by directing the Pentagon and other government agencies to remember our friends—and our enemies—when awarding contracts. ♦

Illustration by Earl Keleny

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Michael Savage diagnoses "the mental disorder of liberalism" — and offers a comprehensive cure-all



With grit, guts, and gusto, Michael Savage has made his talk show ***The Savage Nation*** a must-hear by fearlessly telling it like it is. Night after night, Savage savages today's rabid liberalism with verve and precision, speaking truths that other public figures are too politically correct or afraid to say. In his new book, ***Liberalism Is a Mental Disorder***, he lays it on the line: "You will not have a nation," he says, "unless you awaken to the reality that America has become pacified; America has become feminized; and America is being compromised from without and within. You cannot let them get away with this. Can America be saved? Is it too late? I believe that with God's will and with your determination to confront the mental disorder of liberalism whenever and wherever it is found, America can both survive and thrive." In this book, he shows how.

In this third installment of his bold, biting, and bestselling trilogy, Savage offers provocative and practical ways to reclaim our social, political, and cultural integrity. Through a compelling narrative of current trends and events, Savage chronicles the continued assault on the sacred pillars of American life (the U.S. Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Ten Commandments, the Sanctity of Marriage) by the High Priests of Ultra-Liberalism. In each chapter, the Savage Spotlight of Truth casts its brilliant light on the tactics used by liberals to spread their leftist agenda. Savage follows his analysis with specific actions, arguments, and recommendations for action that the reader can ingest to counter the radical left.

Savage has long insisted that America's best days are in front of her — if only we have the guts to face the truth and apply ourselves to repairing the foundation upon which this blessed nation was formed. The doctor is in and the diagnosis is clear: in ***Liberalism Is a Mental Disorder***, Michael Savage provides a remedy to help freedom-loving Americans effectively medicate the mental disease of modern liberalism and restore America's former brilliance.

Benefits of Membership and How the Book Club Works

INSTANT SAVINGS! Join today and get *Liberalism is a Mental Disorder* absolutely FREE, plus shipping and handling. Then take up to one year to buy two more books at regular low Club prices (20-50% below retail). After you have paid for your books, your Membership can be ended by you or the Club. Plus you will also get the opportunities to buy from our list of Superbargain books that the Club regularly offers. These books are offered at 70-90% discounts!! (Sorry, Superbargain books don't count toward your book commitment).

SHOP-AT-HOME CONVENIENCE! Up to 16 times a year you will receive the Club Bulletin packed with the kind of books you will want to read and own. Each Bulletin will describe a Featured Selection chosen just for our Members. Also included are a number of alternate selections about politics, religion, history, homeschooling, investing, and other areas of interest to conservatives.

CBC ONLINE! You can now read about and conveniently order CBC books from our website at www.ConservativeBookClub.com. Same discounts apply, of course. And, with Conservative Booknotes, our editors' new blog, you can keep up with the conservative community on a range of important issues.

100% SATISFACTION GUARANTEED! If you are not completely satisfied with any book, return it and receive a complete credit. Plus you will always have at least ten days to make your decision to receive the Featured Selection. If you ever have less than ten days, you simply return the book at Club expense for a full credit. One Membership per household please.

☑ **YES!** Please enroll me as a member of the Conservative Book Club under the terms outlined in this ad. Send ***Liberalism is a Mental Disorder*** for FREE and bill me just for the shipping and handling. I then need to buy only two additional books over the next year at regularly discounted Club prices (20-50% off retail).

C1702-AZ

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State ____ Zip _____

Email _____

• Prices slightly higher in Canada • Membership subject to approval by the Conservative Book Club

Fill out this coupon and mail to:

CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB®

Conservatives Serving Conservatives for 40 Years

1147 **P.O. Box 97196, Washington, DC 20090-7196** 6621

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mary, Quite Contrary

A feminist heroine in the Age of Johnson

By CHARLOTTE ALLEN

Mary Wollstonecraft, 1797

Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797) is remembered chiefly as a kind of double forerunner: She was the mother of the far more famous Mary Shelley, wife of the poet Percy Bysshe Shelley and author of *Frankenstein*, and she wrote *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), a polemic treatise that deemed marriage "legal prostitution" and denounced the social restrictions that kept her sex "in ignorance and slavish dependence," thus prefiguring two central themes of today's feminist ideology.

Furthermore, Wollstonecraft's writing career did not last long. She worked in obscurity as a teacher, governess, and lady's companion until age 27, spent a feverish decade mostly in London churning out eight books of unevenly written fiction and nonfiction, and then died of puerperal fever at age 38, a few days after giving birth to Mary. Anyone who undertakes, as Lyndall Gordon has done, a 500-plus-page biography of Mary Wollstonecraft must delve deeply into, and spin much out of, the personal and emotional details of her private life in order to fill up the pages.

Charlotte Allen is author, most recently, of The Human Christ.

Fortunately, Gordon had plenty to work with in that department: Wollstonecraft's tumultuous existence included violent unrequited crushes on friends both male and female, a disastrous love affair with an American bounder named Gilbert Imlay that produced two suicide attempts on Wollstonecraft's part, an older daughter, Fanny, born out of wedlock, and a nagging shortage of money that plagued her with debts and financial fears from childhood to death, despite the success of some of her books. Add to that a tendency to melancholia that could be described in modern clinical terms as manic-depressive, and a penchant for displaying open contempt for, and picking arguments with, those she deemed her moral or intellectual inferiors—a category that comprised almost everyone she met, male and female.

Vindication
A Life of Mary Wollstonecraft
by Lyndall Gordon
HarperCollins, 576 pp., $29.95

Because of the *Vindication*, feminist scholars since the 1970s have lavished much attention on Mary Wollstonecraft, producing two leading biographies, Claire Tomalin's *The Life and Death of Mary Wollstonecraft* (1974), and Diane Jacobs's *Her Own Woman: The Life of Mary Wollstonecraft* (2001). Both have been praised, and also criticized, for portraying their subject as a cardboard feminist stereotype, a victim of wicked men and chauvinist times. A third Wollstonecraft biography, Janet Todd's *Mary Wollstonecraft* (2000), apparently errs in the other direction by presenting Wollstonecraft as a "moody drama queen" (Gordon's words) so prone to swings of temper and violent verbal recriminations that it was not surprising that the objects of her amorous attentions (Imlay in particular) tended to slip away into the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

arms of others. In this assessment, Todd has the company of Wollstonecraft's contemporaries. The American president John Adams called her "this mad woman," while the gothic novelist Horace Walpole described her as "a hyena in petticoats." Until the rise of late-20th century feminism, it was customary for literary historians to regard Mary Wollstonecraft as a hysterical, self-defeating oddity whose reputation was only partially redeemed by the achievements of her second daughter.

Lyndall Gordon, author of well-regarded biographies of T.S. Eliot, Virginia Woolf, Charlotte Brontë, and Henry James, tries to do something different, to synthesize the two Mary Wollstonecrafts: the politically radical, defiantly independent Mary who disdained marriage and social convention, and the emotionally needy Mary who wrote frantic daily letters to Imlay and held herself out as his wife, and then, after Imlay had dropped her and she got pregnant a second time with little Mary, by the freethinking philosopher and publisher William Godwin, persuaded him to marry her—in an Anglican church, no less. In a letter to her sister Everina, Wollstonecraft wrote: "I am . . . going to be the first of a new genus," and Gordon (following the lead of Virginia Woolf, another Wollstonecraft admirer) takes her at her word. Gordon, indeed writing a "vindication" as her title says, argues that Wollstonecraft's inconsistencies were actually part of a process of continuous deliberate self-reinvention, that she was a "pioneer of character . . . reading, testing, growing, but still uncategorized."

I am not sure whether Gordon succeeds in supporting this claim. Although she writes with grace and passion and has (as her copious endnotes show) exhaustively researched the primary and secondary sources relating to Wollstonecraft, her book can be as exasperating as its subject. There is no straightforward narrative line, so if you open its pages as I did knowing practically nothing about Wollstonecraft, you will quickly get lost in a sea of allusions to future events yet unnarrated and to other biographies of Wollstonecraft that Gordon seems to have assumed you have read. Although Gordon helpfully furnishes a table of the tangled Wollstonecraft and Shelley genealogies, there is no chronological list of Wollstonecraft's published writings (a gaping omission in a literary biography) or even a clear laying out of the arguments in her most famous tracts, such as her *Thoughts on the Education of Daughters* (1786), which proposed teaching girls a substantive curriculum instead of ladylike "accomplishments" such as drawing and music.

Gordon is often vague about crucial details. She informs us that Shelley's grandfather, a self-made, American-born "prototype of Jay Gatsby" named Bysshe, "grew rich" after moving to England in an apparent reverse-immigrant's success story, but never tells us how he made the fortune that enabled both his son and grandson to attend Oxford—or indeed, what exactly was Gatsby-like about the old man. Where the record is thin, Gordon likes to toss out speculations, some shrewd, some totally unsupported, as when she surmises that Henry Fuseli, the painter with whom Wollstonecraft became infatuated to the point of proposing a *ménage à trois* that would include his wife, had a homosexual affair with Wollstonecraft's London publisher, Joseph Johnson. Most irritating is Gordon's feminist jargon: the word "gender" on nearly every other page. Her comparison of 18th-century land enclosure to "the enclosure of women's bodies" reads like notes left over from a Women's Studies 101 class.

Nonetheless—and this is a tribute to the power of Gordon's writing, jargon notwithstanding—Wollstonecraft comes across as a highly intelligent and deeply sympathetic figure, a victim mostly of her own boundless energy and high-minded naiveté. Not surprisingly, Abigail Adams, John Adams's wife, was an admirer of Wollstonecraft's *Vindication*, which bluntly blamed women themselves, with their fixation on clothes and frivolities, for men's refusal to take their sex seriously.

Mary Wollstonecraft's life was indeed hard. She was one of six children born to John Edward Wollstonecraft, who inherited a small fortune from his own father, a prosperous London weaver, and decided to rise to the landed gentry without realizing that even gentleman farmers have to know something about agriculture. As the Wollstonecrafts moved haplessly from farm to farm all over Britain, the fortune slowly vanished, including a portion earmarked for Mary's dowry. That was disastrous, for even though, as her portraits show, Mary was a robust and buxom beauty with peaches-and-cream skin and masses of auburn curls, dowerless middle-class girls of the 18th century had slim chances of finding husbands, and even slimmer chances of making decent livings in the few genteel occupations open to them.

The marriage-related anxieties of mothers and daughters in the novels of Jane Austen, Mary's younger contemporary, reflect grim economic realities. It was impossible for an impecunious young woman even to dress fashion-

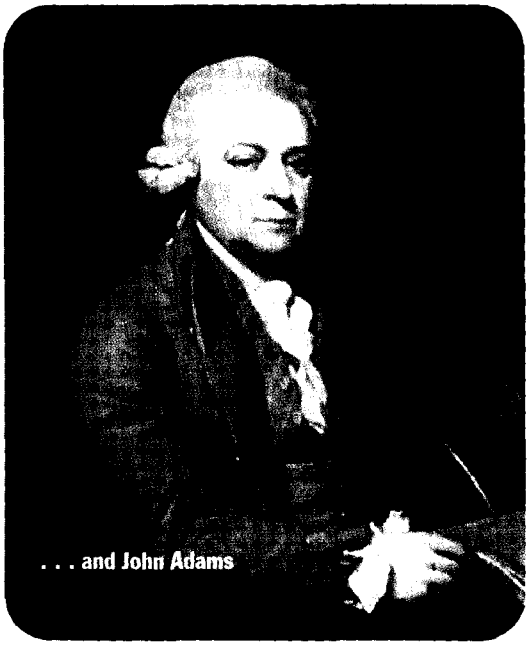
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ably; not only were 18th-century gowns expensive, with their yards of hand-sewn pelisses and panniers, but they laced up the back, requiring a lady's maid to help put them on. John Wollstonecraft had a violent temper, regularly beating not only his wife but his dogs, and Mary's mother, Lydia, favored her oldest son, not the girls.

By age 19, Mary, largely self-educated, was on her own. She became a paid companion to a rich widow, a near-servant's job that she loathed. In 1784, she and her two sisters opened a school in Newington Green, two miles north of London. There she started attending a dissenting chapel presided over by Richard Price, a famous London rationalist who did not believe in the biblical doctrine of original sin but did believe in the American Revolution and its republican promise. The Adamses, when in London, were part of Price's congregation. Through Price, Wollstonecraft met the chemist Joseph Priestley, another rationalist and republican, and also Joseph Johnson, who persuaded her to write her first book about female education. She also met Samuel Johnson and got along with him surprisingly well, considering their different politics. She spurned several suitors, lavishing her emotional energies on intense female friendships. In 1786, she became a governess for a family of Anglo-Irish aristocrats, the Kings, but she declined to make herself agreeable and was dismissed within a year.

She returned from Dublin to London determined to make a living by her pen, which was almost unheard-of for a woman. Joseph Johnson gave her work doing translations, for which she taught herself French and German. She also wrote the first of a series of heavily autobiographical novels. In 1789 Price preached a sermon praising the French Revolution, and in response, Edmund Burke wrote his famous anti-Jacobin *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. In response to Burke, Mary published a tract, *A Vindication of the Rights of Man*, denouncing not only aristocracy but also slavery (the abolitionist William Wilberforce was an acquaintance of the Price set), which won her the admiration of Thomas Paine. Her *Rights of Woman* followed in 1792, making her famous although not rich, as did her pursuit of Fuseli, who turned down flat her offer to move in with him and his wife.

Perhaps stung by Fuseli's rejection, Mary sailed off to France to take a first-hand look at the French Revolution she admired so much. She arrived just in time for the trial and decapitation of Louis XVI and the attendant bloodbath, which horrified her but did not dampen her support for the rising. In Paris she met and fell for Gilbert Imlay. As Gordon suggests, despite her advocacy of free love, Wollstonecraft was probably still a virgin at age 33, although not for long.


. . . and John Adams

Typical of America-worshipping intellectuals of her time, she took Imlay for a backwoods philosopher, when he was in fact from a well-off family in New Jersey. Imlay was a piece of work through whom only a bluestocking like Wollstonecraft could have been innocent enough not to see. He already had left a trail of broken female hearts in his wake, and in Paris he was simultaneously conniving to get himself appointed governor of French-held Louisiana and trying to make money off the Terror. Fanny was born in 1794. Shortly thereafter, he left Mary and the baby to live in London. By the time Wollstonecraft and their daughter joined him in April 1795, he had taken up with an actress. Wollstonecraft swallowed an overdose of laudanum, to be rescued by her lover at the last minute.

As a kind of consolation prize, Imlay made Wollstonecraft his business partner, sending her and toddler Fanny off to Sweden to pursue a lawsuit over one of his ventures: a shipload of silver seized from guillotined French aristocrats. The ship had disappeared, only to turn up partially wrecked and missing its cargo. Wollstonecraft was supposed to recover the silver, or else compensation, from the ship's captain. But the trial dragged on without resolution, and when she returned to London, Imlay had acquired yet another mistress. This time Wollstonecraft jumped off a Thames bridge; she was rescued again, although not by Imlay. Through all of this she wrote furiously: novels, a Scandinavian travel memoir, a book about the French Revolution, sheaves of letters.

Eventually she resolved to seduce Godwin, a minister-turned-atheist whom she had met through Joseph Johnson. Godwin was a cold fish of unprepossessing looks who carefully noted each of his sexual encounters with Wollstonecraft in coded diary entries, but he was loyal enough. Although he was as philosophically opposed as she to marriage, the two were wed just five months before little Mary's birth, and he adopted Fanny. They tried to make it a union of two independent spirits, but Wollstonecraft felt hurt that Godwin interpreted that to mean regular dining out with his own circle of friends (including Johnson and Fuseli), a circle that did not include her. One wonders what would have happened had she lived longer.

As Gordon points out, the high drama that was Mary Wollstonecraft did

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

not end with her death. Godwin soon married again, and there was a third daughter, Clara Mary Jane. All three girls took over the Wollstonecraft impetuosity, and as with Wollstonecraft, it did not lead to happiness. Mary eloped with Shelley at age 16 and pregnant, ignoring the fact that he already had a pregnant teenage wife, Harriet, with whom he had also eloped. Harriet committed suicide, and Mary had to endure several infidelities herself before Shelley drowned at age 30. Meanwhile Fanny, who had been Shelley's first love in the Godwin household and was clearly heartbroken that he turned to her half-sister, committed suicide, too. Clara, professing free love, threw her virgin self at Lord Byron, but the poet not only declined to marry her when she got pregnant (she was beneath him socially) but refused to let her near their daughter, Allegra. Clara at least lived long enough to know Henry James at century's end. And then there was Wollstonecraft's Anglo-Irish tutee, Margaret King, later Lady Mount Cashell, who frolicked all over the continent of Europe cross-dressing and bearing offspring legitimate and illegimate by a number of men.

Mary Wollstonecraft was a powerful and eloquent writer. Much of what she wrote has not stood the test of time, nor have many of her ideas. Yet she did advocate rights for women in a day when women had precious few of them and when life without a husband was a terrifying prospect instead of, as now, merely a lonely one. She urged the creation of "an open road by which [women] can pursue more extensive plans of usefulness and independence," but, unlike many of today's feminists, instructed women that they had to take responsibility for being treated seriously by men.

Wollstonecraft had the misfortune to live at "that dawn" of modernity at which, according to her contemporary, William Wordsworth, it was supposed to be "bliss . . . to be alive." It was not, at least not for Mary Wollstonecraft. But she did not have the benefit of two centuries of experience with some of the brave new theories she espoused. ♦

Down Argentine Way

How the wild bulls of the Pampas got into debt.

BY ROBERT WHITCOMB

In my days as a financial editor, I'd follow the wanderings of big New York investment bankers to faraway countries, where, interspersed with royal dinners and the finest wine, and, sometimes with entertainment that included certain parts of the body, they'd arrange to underwrite behemoth bond issues for certain hot nations.

It can be a glamorous life, at least until the 15-hour flights get to you. Sadly, even flying first class and living in luxury-hotel suites pale after the 25th trip eight time zones away, and you long to lie on the grass of your own backyard for awhile. But then, globetrotting bankers from the likes of Goldman, Sachs and Salomon Bros. can usually afford at least an acre of blue lawn in Westchester after a very few years of peddling "sovereign loans" abroad. They certainly did very well for awhile, before one of the great financial meltdowns of the post-World War II era: the foreign-debt default of Argentina in December 2001, which plunged that tormented First World wannabe into a depression. (Happily, this potentially very rich country has been recovering for the past couple of years—although per-capita income has not yet reached its 1998 high, at the summit of the boom.)

Courtesy of PublicAffairs

And the Money Kept Rolling In (and Out)
Wall Street, the IMF, and the Bankrupting of Argentina
by Paul Blustein
PublicAffairs, 278 pp., $27.50

Paul Blustein's suspenseful book vividly shows how even low-income Argentines benefited from that boom, which followed decades that included wild inflations, short booms, and longer busts—not entirely unconnected with a political system heavy on dictators, corruption, and industrial-strength incompetence. And then he shows the economic devastation that followed, a crisis that would be almost inconceivable to post-Depression Americans. Part of the problem was (and is) Argentina's famous tendency to act like a rich European country but without the institutional disciplines thereof.

For awhile, in the 1990s, it seemed as if Argentina would rise again to the First World status to which its beef, wool, and other riches had brought it in the early 20th century. After all, as Blustein, a financial writer for the *Washington Post*, explains in crisp prose accessible even to those who rarely read financial newspapers, reforms to privatize many government-owned organizations, to deregulate entire sec-

Robert Whitcomb is editorial page editor of the Providence Journal.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tors, and to control inflation by mandating that the central bank exchange pesos for dollars at a fixed rate provided more hope for long-term prosperity than this weird nation had seen since the 1920s.

With compassion for the players, from the near-starving poor of Argentina's cities to the frantic financial-industry gadabouts to increasingly anxious government officials, Blustein explains about as well as anyone what caused the crash—as he relates the hectic trips between Buenos Aires, Washington, New York, and other power centers, and, in the end, the anger and pathos of proud Argentine leaders brought low by their failure to satisfy either their own people or international creditors.

He especially goes after the disinclination of the International Monetary Fund (aka the U.S. Treasury) to gradually wean the nation off the debt issues that let its government do what all governments love to do: provide lots of big public programs without commensurate taxation. The IMF continued to give alcoholic Argentina more and more drinks until it threw the Argentines out of the bar and into the cold street. Blustein argues that the IMF probably could have arranged for a soft landing rather than a crash as the Argentine economy showed warning signs of turning down. Of course, the investment bankers, whose firms had so ramped up the glories of "emerging-market" investments, made things worse after they had made things better for a few years in the '90s. In those boom days they extended credit to a country that seemed to have happy prospects for prosperity, a new and far more disciplined economic system, a large and educated middle class (if with inadequate capital), and immense natural resources. The bankers (who, with IMF and other foreign officials, made good use of Buenos Aires's many fine restaurants) came to think that they could do good by doing very well for themselves indefinitely. They kept pushing Argentine debt sales with all the relentlessness of a South Florida real-estate salesman unloading overpriced condos on people about to lose their jobs.

As Paul Blustein notes, the investment bankers had every incentive to promote maximum Argentine borrowing. The more debt sold, the more fees earned by investment bankers! And U.S. and European fund managers, and many middle-class and wealthy individual investors, just couldn't buy enough of those juicy "emerging-market" bonds in the go-go '90s, when globalization was expected to make every other Third World country rich. "A Bravo New World" was a Goldman, Sachs headline about Argentina and other Latin markets in 1996.

Still, it was the governments—of rich lending countries and of Argentina itself—that bore prime responsibility for pouring the drinks until it was too late. (And you can be sure that they will do it again.) Behind the bond-issue tombstone ads and Bloomberg bulletins are all-too-human dramas—greed, fear, ambition, envy, patriotism, fancy dinners, getting fired, navigating street riots, and missing your flight. Paul Blustein deserves much praise for his stagecraft. ♦

Bob Dole's War

A wounded soldier rebuilds his life.

BY ARAM BAKSHIAN JR.

It's too bad Frank Capra died in 1991. Were he alive today, he'd be the ideal director for the film adaptation of *One Soldier's Story*. And one of his favorite leading men, lank, laconic Gary Cooper, who starred in Capra's *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town*, would have been perfect as the hero.

One Soldier's Story is the stirring tale of a small-town boy from Russell, Kansas—a star athlete and the first in his family to go to college—who serves bravely in World War II, survives crippling wounds, and, with the help of his family, friends, and his own strength of will, overcomes daunting physical handicaps to lead a productive life. Not only that; he is elected to Congress, becomes a vice presidential and presidential nominee, and serves with distinction as chairman of the Republican National Committee and majority leader of the United States Senate. Through it all, Bob Dole—for that is the name of our story's hero—also manages to maintain a refreshingly candid sense of humor rare among public figures.

One Soldier's Story
A Memoir
by Bob Dole
HarperCollins, 304 pp., $25.95

Alexander Pope wrote that most old men are "like old chronicles that give you dull but true accounts of times past" and are "worth knowing only on that score." Perhaps. But in *One Soldier's Story* the 81-year-old Dole has given us an American chronicle that, while true, is anything but dull.

Although the author paints a warm portrait of his Depression-era childhood in rural Kansas, where his values were rooted and his character was forged, it is his wartime experience—and all that it led to—that lie at the heart of this book. Leaving college for the Army after Pearl Harbor, Dole undergoes officer training and is assigned to the Army's elite 10th Division. He sees action against the Germans in the Italian Alps, where, as a young platoon leader, he nearly dies on a grimly anonymous "Hill 913" while trying to rescue his wounded radio man:

Aram Bakshian Jr., editor in chief of American Speaker, *has served as an aide to three U.S. presidents, most recently as director of speechwriting for Ronald Reagan.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bob Dole, 1943

CORBIS

> For a long moment, I didn't know if I was dead or alive. I sensed the dirt in my mouth more than I tasted it. I wanted to get up, to lift my face off the ground, to spit the dirt and blood out of my mouth, but I couldn't move. I lay facedown in the dirt, unable to feel my arms. Then the horror hit me—*I can't feel anything below my neck!* I didn't know it at the time, but whatever it was that hit me had ripped apart my shoulder, breaking my collar bone and my right arm, smashing down into my vertebrae, and damaging my spinal cord.

Bob Dole's combat career ended that April day in 1945, but his gravest struggle and greatest triumph lay ahead. The critical wounds he sustained—and the way he, his friends, and family reacted in their aftermath—would shape the rest of his life. "It's said often that my generation is the greatest generation," he writes. "Truth be told, we were ordinary Americans fated to confront extraordinary tests."

Few more so than Dole himself. The enemy fire that struck his right shoulder also destroyed one kidney, cost him the use of his right arm, and deprived him of most sensation in his partially-workable left arm. For three years, he would spend most of his time in hospital beds, sometimes close to death.

> Each day became a marathon of endless hours trying to exercise my legs, my left arm, and the fingers on my left hand, with Mom and the nurses cheering every small triumph. On good days, I could move a finger or an arm a little; on bad days, I struggled to move at all. I felt imprisoned in my frozen body. I still could not control my bladder or bowels; nor could I sit up in bed. . . . Often after I'd tried for hours to move my arms, Mom or Norma Jean [his sister] would suddenly hurry out of the room. A few minutes later, they'd return, their eyes red and puffy. Sometimes, after Dad and Norma Jean said good-bye, and Mom returned to her apartment for the night, I'd lie in bed staring into the darkness, asking myself again and again, Why? Why me? Why was I on that Hill 913? What did I ever do to deserve this? Why wasn't Somebody up there looking out for me? . . . In my better moments I realized, Somebody was.

"Somebody" included hundreds of friends and neighbors in Russell, who contributed their dimes, quarters, and hard-earned dollars so that the young Dole could get treatment from private specialists. One of the specialists was Dr. Hampar Kelikian, a brilliant surgeon who had come to America as a penniless Armenian refugee, fleeing Turkish massacres. Out of love for his adopted country, Kelikian refused to accept any fees from the young veteran. And he did more than operate on his patient; he gave him a fresh perspective: "We start by not thinking so much anymore about what you have lost," he said. "You must think about what you have left . . . and what you can do with it."

Slowly, painfully, Dole made the most of what was left. He learned to walk again, and to write again with his partially functioning left hand. Most important, he learned to hope again, and to believe in himself. He went back to college, earned a law degree, and, in 1950, at the urging of a fellow student, he entered politics, running for the Kansas legislature:

> My entrance into politics certainly wasn't propelled by partisan fervor. The Russell County Attorney greatly influenced my decision to become a Republican. He told me, "Bob, if you really want to do something in politics in Kansas, you better declare yourself as a Republican." "Really, why is that?" "Because Republicans outnumber Democrats in Kansas." I became a Republican, pragmatically at first, and then philosophically later on.

By the time he was elected to the

Bob Dole, 1945

CORBIS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

U.S. Senate, the transformation was complete and Dole had become one of the leading voices of traditional, essentially conservative, Republicanism. As a lawmaker, however, Dole was always more of a doer than a thinker, leaving the philosophizing to others. And he always maintained a standard of civility in the Senate based on something more than etiquette. In 1946, at Percy Jones Military Hospital in Michigan, Dole made friends with two other wounded vets, a young Japanese-American named Dan Inouye, who had lost an arm in battle in Italy not far from Hill 913, and a Michigan man named Phil Hart, who had been wounded during the D-Day assault on Utah Beach.

Looking back, Dole reflects: "I find it amazing that the three of us—Phil Hart, Daniel Inouye, and I—three wounded soldiers who became such good friends through our common suffering, would all one day serve our country as United States senators." In fact, they did more than simply serve together in the Senate; they remained close friends. "Something about World War II experiences and our time together at Percy Jones Hospital created a bond among us that no partisan politics could ever separate."

It's all part of a larger but fading picture. Except for Jimmy Carter, every president from Dwight Eisenhower to George Bush the Elder, served in World War II. From the late 1940s through the late 1970s, World War II veterans were a major presence in both the House and Senate, sometimes cooperating across party lines for the good of the nation. It is unlikely that we will ever be able to say the same of Vietnam veterans, Gulf war veterans, or American veterans of any other war fought by all-volunteer, career armed forces.

Today, and into the foreseeable future, most American politicians will be immune from both the suffering war can inflict and the quality of character it can instill. Memoirs like *One Soldier's Story* remind us of just how important those qualities can be. ♦

Hollywood Version

The Third Crusade was never like this.

BY JOHN PODHORETZ

Kingdom of Heaven may be the single most anachronistic motion picture ever made. Director Ridley Scott and screenwriter William Monahan would have you believe that there was once a utopian moment when the city of Jerusalem was a multicultural and multiethnic paradise, run by wise men deeply suspicious of religious fanaticism. Try to catch your breath from the laughing jag you just enjoyed, because I haven't yet told you the capper, which is that this moment of wondrous comity supposedly came smack dab in the middle of the Crusades—the series of five wars between Christians and Muslims that altogether comprised the most vicious religious conflict in all of human history.

Kingdom of Heaven attributes to its heroic Christian and Muslim characters a cosmopolitan skepticism about faith, and a healthy tolerance for other cultures, that would have been literally unthinkable in the 12th century—an era in which there was absolutely no frame of intellectual, historical, hermeneutical, or philosophical reference for cultural relativism or agnosticism. God was an almost literal presence in the lives of the real people we see fictionalized on screen here. But rather than acting as though their duty in life is to do God's work, or to subjugate themselves to God's will, the good folk of *Kingdom of Heaven* tell each other that all they need do is keep an open mind and follow their hearts.

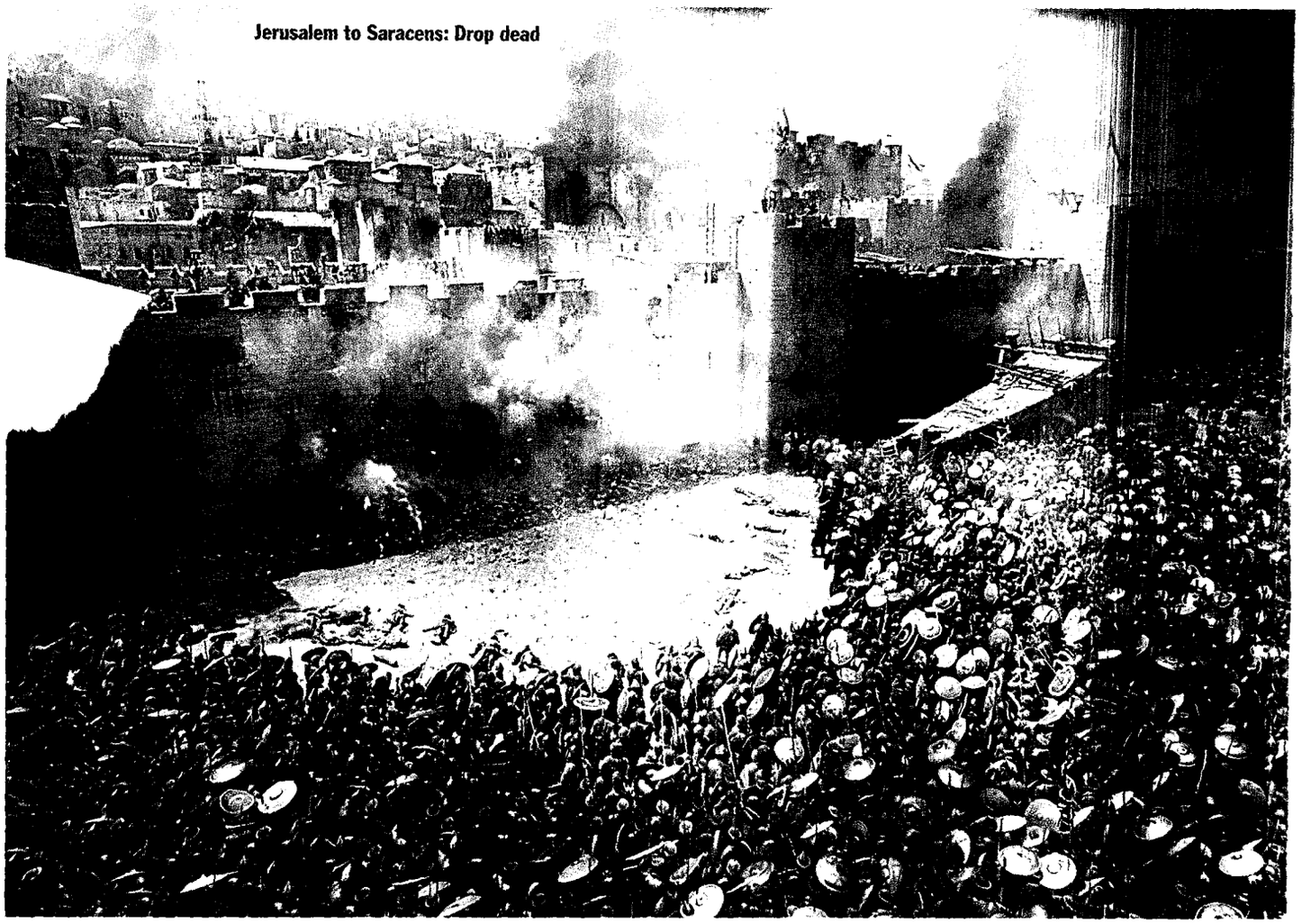
Our hero, young Balian of Ibelin (Orlando Bloom), is taught this lesson twice in the course of the movie, once by his Crusader father, and once by Baldwin IV, the saintly leper who is the ruler of Jerusalem. There was an actual Balian of Ibelin. He was a remarkable man who was forced by the dictates of his chivalric code to lead the defense of Jerusalem against the conquering army of the great Arab general Saladin in the late 12th century, even though he had personally guaranteed Saladin he would not do so. Rather than tell Balian's stunning story—which included writing a chivalrous letter to Saladin begging the Muslim's forgiveness, an apology that Saladin accepted from a fellow man of honor—Scott and Monahan have thrown out most of the real details of his life in favor of a misbegotten plotline that turns Balian into a lowly French village blacksmith.

When *Kingdom of Heaven* begins, Balian is in shock because of the suicide of his wife, which followed the death of their child. (The only reason I can see for this unnecessary plot point is that killing off a wife and child worked as a motivating device for the title character of Ridley Scott's huge hit *Gladiator*, which won the Oscar for best picture four years ago.) A nobleman named Godfrey (Liam Neeson) appears out of nowhere and announces that he's Balian's father, that he's come to apologize for his sins toward his son, and asks Balian to join him on a trip to Jerusalem. Balian has no interest in joining his father. Then he flies into a rage when he discovers that the local priest stole his wife's cross off her dead body, and tosses the creepy curate into the smithy. (Every priest Balian encounters in his travels is unctuous, cowardly, and venal.)

Balian decides he must be cleansed of his sins, and also thinks maybe he can save his wife from the fires of Hell, by going to Jerusalem. He joins

John Podhoretz is a contributing editor to THE WEEKLY STANDARD.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Jerusalem to Saracens: Drop dead

Photo: Twentieth Century Fox

Godfrey, and his dad gives him a 30-second lesson in how to use a sword. This turns out to be a fortuitous fencing lesson indeed, because almost instantly the local constabulary sets upon Godfrey and Balian. Balian survives without a scratch, but Godfrey receives a fatal wound that turns the blacksmith almost instantly into a high nobleman.

Everything that happens to Balian in the course of the movie happens in a matter of seconds. He goes to Jerusalem and immediately becomes the king's most trusted adviser. The king's pretty sister Sibylla falls for him on the spot. And, with no military training whatsoever, Balian devises an ingenious battle plan that defeats a larger Muslim army in no time.

All movies require some suspension of disbelief, but the head-spinning celerity of Balian's rise is just absurd—and made even more risible by the vacuousness of Orlando Bloom's performance. Scott made a superstar out of Russell Crowe in *Gladiator*, and he tries to give Bloom the same big sendoff here. Certainly Bloom seemed as if he might have leading-man potential during his three outings as the long-haired blond guy who could scale tall horses and fat elephants with a single bound in the *Lord of the Rings* trilogy. *Kingdom of Heaven* sadly proves that the real star of *Lord of the Rings* was Bloom's wig: Without it, he just blends into the scenery. When other characters praise Balian's wisdom, his skills, his talents, and his nobility, you have no idea what they're talking about. If you were the king of Jerusalem, you wouldn't trust this guy with your army. You wouldn't even trust him to fill your order properly at the Shawarma City drive-through.

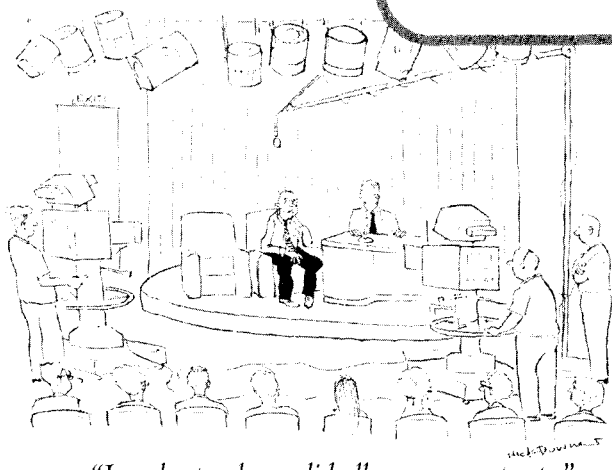
Balian continues to receive a quality education in ethnic sensitivity from none other than Saladin, whose march toward Jerusalem forms the narrative spine of *Kingdom of Heaven*. At a critical moment, our noble hero Balian encounters Saladin and asks him, "What is Jerusalem worth?"

"Nothing," answers Saladin (played brilliantly by the Syrian actor Ghassan Massoud) with a slight grin. He begins to leave, then turns back, smiles, and says, "Everything."

Muslims have venerated Saladin for nearly a millennium as the great liberator of Jerusalem. Evidently, his actions have been misunderstood all this time, because *Kingdom of Heaven* makes it crystal clear that what Saladin and Balian and all the good Crusaders really wanted was a United Nations to come into existence *circa* 1186 to ensure a multicultural, internationalized Jerusalem.

The very liberal-minded *Kingdom of Heaven* is successful in one respect, however. Ridley Scott and William Monahan have managed an amazing hat trick: They have made a very expensive film that manages to be annoying, in equal measure, to Christians, Muslims, *and* Jews. ♦

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



"I understand you did all your own stunts."

Books in Brief

***One Nation Under Therapy: How the Helping Culture is Eroding Self-Reliance* by Christina Hoff Sommers and Sally Satel (St. Martin's Press, 320 pp., $23.95)**

Christina Hoff Sommers and Sally Satel, resident scholars at the American Enterprise Institute, are no strangers to firestorms. Sommers enraged paleofeminists with her books *The War Against Boys* and *Who Stole Feminism?* Psychiatrist Satel is "a conservative ideologue in a doctor's white lab coat," sniffed *Salon* in a review of her book *PC, M.D.*

Their new collaboration, *One Nation Under Therapy*, will add some educators and therapists to the Greek chorus of naysayers. But the rest of us should be grateful that the book challenges such enshrined notions as: unbridled emoting shortens the grieving period; dodgeball, tag, and, indeed, any form of competition threaten children's tender psyches; adversity has no redeeming value; and grief therapists are among the most valuable players at a disaster site.

This last group is singled out for close examination. Believing that the highest need of anyone remotely connected to a tragedy is to relive it, pronto, with a complete stranger, many grief counselors are dangerously close to being a self-parody. In between truly horrific events, they can be found, for example, consoling staff at the Boston Public Library after a flood or holding employees' hands at the news that their 401(k) has just gone south.

But it's not just survivors of catastrophes that are targeted for intervention. Children are seen by some as particularly vulnerable. The chapter on therapistic education, detailing schools' extravagant measures in promoting self-esteem, is an eye-opener, especially when coupled with evidence showing that too high an opinion of oneself has deleterious effects.

Another chapter skewers the buck-passing that criminals employ, coming up with such novel ailments as Super Bowl Sunday syndrome and urban survival syndrome. Would that more psychiatrists took the line of the one quoted who, when a burglar asked him to help discover the motive for his misdeeds, responded, "How about greed, laziness, and a thirst for excitement?"

—Susie Currie

***Men in Black: How the Supreme Court is Destroying America* by Mark R. Levin (Regnery, 288 pp., $27.95)**

As the nation awaits the inevitable battle over President Bush's first appointment to the Supreme Court, legal commentator Mark Levin takes readers on a flabbergasting survey of how activist judges have used the theory of a "living" Constitution to foreclose democratic debate on issues from abortion to affirmative action. In explaining how this theory has so often led to judicial tyranny, Levin shows what will be at stake when the president nominates a judge committed to applying the plain text of the Constitution and the intent of its framers to the High Court, and the left moves to defend its last ideological redoubt.

In refreshing contrast to the mincing qualifications that clutter most legal books, Levin uses plain language to expose how activist judges work. Armed with fuzzy theories that conjure up new and "unenumerated" constitutional rights, they manipulate the law to such an extent that, as Levin writes, "the judiciary, operating outside its scope, is the greatest threat to representative government we face today." A case in point is the Supreme Court's recent decision that executing a Missouri man who, at age 17, kidnapped, bound, and drowned a young mother, would violate a "moral consensus" shared by five out of nine justices (though not by the citizens of Missouri).

For those who imagine the Senate Judiciary Committee to be an impartial panel, Levin provides troves of documents detailing just how ferociously Senate Democrats politicized the hearings on President Bush's first-term judicial nominees. One memo circulated among Democratic senators describes a "meeting focused on identifying the most controversial and/or vulnerable judicial nominees, and a strategy for targeting them." Such documents foreshadow the ideological gauntlet that any originalist nominee to the court will inevitably run. The irony, as Levin points out, is that Bush's nominees may well be blocked for *not being activist enough*. The battle will be fierce, but *Men in Black* makes excellent ammunition.

—Carlos Ramos-Mrosovsky

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Parody

Foreword by LAVRENTI BERIA

Nikolai Strunkov and J. Stalin

"This little book would really have been good to have had earlier."
—*Former comrade*

The Elements of Style

"It turns out that not only was [Stalin] an intellectual; he was a compulsive and professional editor who corrected any manuscript that crossed his desk for style and grammar as well as for ideology."
—Moscow Times book review of Stalin: A Biography, by Robert Service

I. Elementary Rules of Usage

1. Choose your words with care.
2. Do not join independent clauses with a comma. Your late father once did that.
3. No one ever made friends underestimating levels of steel production.
4. Certain words are considered Trotskyisms. Remember them.
5. Oh, coal is suddenly unimportant? Very well, I'm sure you know better than the revolutionary masses.
6. Enclose parenthetic expressions between commas. Several commas, if necessary. Or liquidate.
7. Omit words such as "proactive," "yummy," and "Hitler-Stalin Pact of 1939."
8. There are certain things that seem entirely fine to say but aren't at all. Try to discern some sort of pattern.

II. Elementary Principles of Composition

1. Put statements in a positive form. Unless they should be negative. Or maybe just omitted. Or emphasized. It's up to you. Good luck.
2. Bourgeois-nationalist = Not good. You can take that to the bank.
3. Try to use the terms "All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions," "Aviation and Chemical Defense Society," and "Committee of Physical Culture" in one sentence. You'll please someone important.
4. Plans are human; Five-Year Plans, divine.
5. Use definite, specific, concrete language when you feel an urge to be sent someplace else for a long period of time.
6. Write in a way that comes naturally to you, if "you" is Stalin.
7. "It is necessary, in the first place, to ensure a continuous expansion of all social production, with a relatively higher rate of expansion of the production of means of production." Isn't that a lovely sentence? Guess who wrote it.
8. Try not to have too many regrets.

the weekly Standard
May 16, 2005

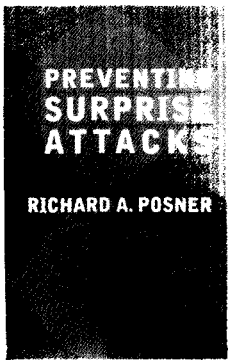
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE FIRST BOOK IN THE NEW HOOVER STUDIES IN POLITICS, ECONOMICS, AND SOCIETY SERIES

Cutting-Edge Commentary on Public Policy

OW IN BOOKSTORES

HOW TO PREVENT ANOTHER 9/11



REVENTING
URPRISE ATTACKS
elligence Reform in
e Wake of 9/11
chard A. Posner
'425-4947-X cloth $18.95

all 800.462.6420
or purchase online at
rowman.com

What the 9/11 Commission Got Wrong . . .

In a searing critique, Richard Posner's new book Preventing Surprise Attacks *identifies the issues overlooked by the 9/11 Commission and Congress, exposes the pitfalls created by new terrorism legislation, and suggests directions for real reform.*

In a misguided quest for unanimity, a determination to use the political calendar, and a public relations campaign to force precipitate action on weakly supported proposals for far-reaching organizational change, the 9/11 Commission, abetted by a stampeded Congress, a politically cornered president, and a press that failed to subject the Commission's recommendations to the searching scrutiny that the modern press reserves for scandals, disserved the cause of national security in a dangerous era. It did so by successfully promoting a bureaucratic reorganization that is more likely to be a recipe for bureaucratic infighting, impacted communication, diminished performance, tangled lines of command, and lowered morale than an improvement on the previous system.

It may, moreover, induce complacence about our "reformed" intelligence system and by doing so deflect attention from graver threats than a repetition of 9/11. If the public believes that the Intelligence Reform Act has fixed the system—if it believes that any reforms can ensure against intelligence failures—it will be less willing to support (and pay for) the strengthening of the other elements of an integrated system of national defense, including deterrence, border defense, and the guarding and hardening of potential targets. Such a relaxation of effort would be an invitation to disaster.

—from *Preventing Surprise Attacks: Intelligence Reform in the Wake of 9/11*

Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

"Richard A. Posner does not simply point to feet of clay. He attacks them with hammer, tongs, and clarity of insight when it comes to the dangers of the ragged overhaul of U.S. intelligence that Congress and the Bush administration now pursue. . . .

You can't read this book and come away believing that Congress has fixed the problem."

—Jim Hoagland, *Washington Post*

To order, call 800.462.6420 or visit rowman.com.

Published by Rowman & Littlefield in cooperation with the Hoover Institution as part of the Hoover Studies in Politics, Economics, and Society series.
General Editors: Peter Berkowitz and Tod Lindberg.

HOOVER INSTITUTION

. . . ideas defining a free society

STANFORD UNIVERSITY, Stanford California 94305-6010 Toll-free: 877.466.8374 Fax: 650.723.1687 info@hoover.stanford.edu www.hoover.org

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FUEL CELL VEHICLES

Learn more at autoalliance.org/fuelcells

AUTO ALLIANCE

DRIVING INNOVATION℠

BMW Group DaimlerChrysler Ford Motor Company General Motors Mazda Mitsubishi Motors Porsche Toyota Volkswagen

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED